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THE
Treaty of Peace
with Germany
AND THE
League of Nations Text
AND
Covenant for World Labor

—
Official Summary of Terms Presented
by Associated Powers to the German
Delegates at Versailles and Special Articles
Pertaining Thereto

—
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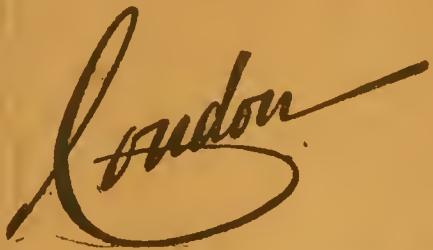
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LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND
COVENANT FOR WORLD LABOR



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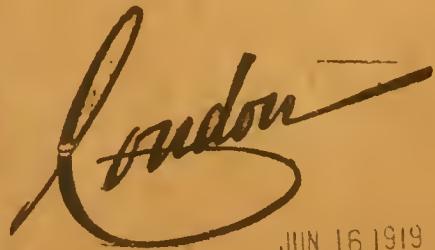
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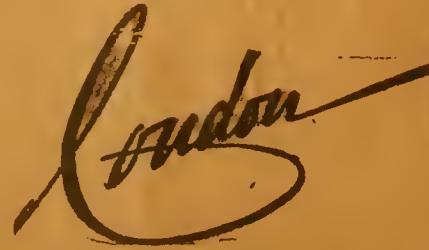
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The Treaty of Peace With Germany

The Treaty of Peace between the twenty-seven allied and associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other was handed to the German plenipotentiaries at Versailles on May 7, 1919.

A League of Nations is built up concurrently with formulation of terms to Germany.

It is the longest Treaty ever drawn, and totals about 80,000 words, divided into fifteen main sections. It represents the combined product of more than a thousand experts, working continually through a series of commissions, for the three and a half months since January 18. This book contains the official summary of the Treaty and the full text of the League of Nations and the Covenant for World Labor.

The Treaty is printed in parallel pages of English and French, which are recognized as having equal validity. It does not deal with questions affecting Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, except in so far as binding Germany to accept any agreement reached with those former Allies.

Following the preamble and deposition of powers comes the Covenant of the League of Nations as the first section of the Treaty. The frontiers of Germany in Europe are defined in the second section; European political classes given in the third, and extra-European political classes in the fourth.

Next are the military, navy and air terms as the fifth section, followed by a section on prisoners of war and military graves, and a seventh on responsibilities. Reparations, financial terms and economic terms are covered in sections eight to ten. Then comes the aeronautic section, ports, waterways and railway section, the labor covenant, the section on guarantees and the final clauses.

Alsace-Lorraine to France.

Germany by the terms of the treaty restores Alsace-Lorraine to France, accepts the internationalization of the Saar Basin temporarily and of Danzig permanently, agrees to territorial changes toward Belgium and Denmark and in East Prussia, cedes most of Upper Silesia to Poland and renounces all territorial and political rights outside Europe, as to her own or her Allies' territories, and especially to Morocco, Egypt, Siam, Liberia and Sabantung. She also recognizes the total independence of German-Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Her army is reduced to a hundred thousand men, including officers; conscription within her territories is abolished; all forts fifty kilometers east of the Rhine razed, and all importation, exportation and nearly all

production of war material stopped. Allied occupation of parts of Germany will continue until reparation is made, but will be reduced at the end of each of three five-year periods, if Germany is fulfilling her obligations. Any violation by Germany of the conditions as to the zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be regarded as an act of war.

On Twenty-Four Warships.

The German Navy is reduced to six battleships, six light cruisers and twelve torpedo boats, without submarines, and a personnel of not over 15,000. All other vessels must be surrendered or destroyed.

Germany is forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic, must demolish Helgoland, open the Kiel Canal to all nations, and surrender her fourteen submarine cables. She may have no military or naval air forces, except 100 unarmed seaplanes, until October 1, to detect mines, and may manufacture aviation material for six months.

Must Reimburse Civilians for Damages

Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused to Allied and Associated Governments and Nationals, agrees specifically to reimburse all civilian damages beginning with an initial payment of 20,000,000,000 marks, subsequent payments to be secured by bonds to be issued at the discretion of the Reparation Commission. Germany is to pay shipping damage on a ton for ton basis by cession of a large part of her merchant, coasting and river fleets and by new construction, and to devote her economic resources to the rebuilding of the devastated regions.

She agrees to return to the 1914 most-favored nation tariffs, without discrimination of any sort; to allow Allied and Associated Nationals freedom of transit through her territories, and to accept highly detailed provisions as to pre-war debts, unfair competition, in-

ternationalization of roads and rivers, and other economic and financial clauses.

Agrees to Trial of ex-Kaiser.

She also agrees to the trial of the ex-Kaiser by an International High Court for a supreme offense against international morality, and of other nationals for violation of the laws and customs of war. Holland to be asked to extradite the former and Germany being responsible for delivering the latter.

The League of Nations is accepted by the Allied and Associated Powers as operative and by Germany in principle, but without membership. Similarly an International Labor body is brought into being, with a permanent office and an annual convention.

A great number of International bodies of different kinds and for different purposes are created, some under the League of Nations, some to execute the peace treaty. Among the former is the commission to govern the Saar Basin until a plebiscite is held 15 years hence; the High Commission of Danzig, which is created into a free city under the League, and various commissions for plebiscites in Malmö, Schleswig and East Prussia.

Among those to carry out the peace treaty are the Reparations, Military, Naval, Air, Financial and Economic Commissions, the International High Court and Military Tribunals to fix responsibilities, and a series of bodies for the control of international rivers.

Problems Left for Solution.

Certain problems are left for solution between the Allied and Associated Powers, notably details of the disposition of the German fleet and cables, the former German colonies and the values paid in reparation. Certain other problems, such as the laws of the air and the opium, arms and liquor traffic, are either agreed to in detail or set for early international action.

A SEVERE BUT A JUST PEACE

Editorial by ARTHUR M. HOWE,
Editor of Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 8, 1919.

The Peace Conference assembled at the Quai d'Orsay on January 18. Less than four months later there is presented to the German delegates at Versailles the most voluminous peace treaty on record, a document rearranging European boundaries, setting up new states, insuring the punishment of criminals, providing for the payment of war damages, guaranteeing the disarmament of Germany and dissipating the vast colonial system which her former government set up. When we contemplate the great variety and complexity of the issues covered by the treaty, the time consumed in its making seems extraordinarily short. The Conference, belabored by unthinking critics as hesitant and dilatory, stands vindicated today in the judgment of every reader who intelligently studies the stupendous product of its labors.

The peace thus forced upon Germany is a hard peace. It was intended to be hard. The ends of justice which include retribution and reparation would not be served by less onerous terms. The plea that the German people should not be made to suffer for the sins of a system now destroyed has been often advanced and we shall hear more of it now that the conditions of suffering are specifically set forth. But the obvious reply to it is that the German people stood solidly behind that evil system, they gloried in its crimes, sustained its aggressions, rejoiced in its conquests and were prepared to profit from its universal invasion of human rights. They were willing partners in the most shameful of all recorded conspiracies. They hoped to win. They lost, and they must now prepare to pay the cost of losing.

Whether Germany is physically able to carry all of the obligations thus fastened upon her shoulders cannot be definitely determined at this time. Her delegates to Versailles have said that their government is ready to make reparation, but will not pay indemnities. The word indemnity is avoided in the treaty. The choice of terms may salve the German feelings—a little. But it is perfectly plain that reparation will be stretched to cover all that could reasonably be demanded as indemnity, that German money and German labor shall be put into the reconstruction of devastated areas and that German shipping and German shipbuilding skill shall be employed to restore the merchant marines impoverished by submarine attack. In this respect gen-

eral principles are applied, the details remaining to be worked out. The future of Germany is not arbitrarily or hopelessly mortgaged. If it can be shown in the future that the capacity for payment is not adequate to meet the obligation imposed, ways and means of readjustment will be found available. The spokesman of the German delegation to Versailles admits the responsibility of his country for the spirit of aggression that made war universal and does not deny her liability for damages. That smooths the way toward the acceptance of the treaty, and we cannot believe that this desirable end will be delayed by the obduracy of the Allied nations in denying to Germany the co-operation for which her representatives plead. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau stated nothing less than the truth when, in asking for a fair and judicial examination of Germany's financial condition, he declared that "a crash would deprive those who have a right to reparation of the advantage to which they have a claim and would entail irretrievable disorder of the whole European economic system." A Germany humbled, a Germany punished, a Germany with teeth drawn and claws clipped, is essential to the safety of civilization. But a Germany financially crushed and ruined, a Germany denied all the recognized incentives to enterprise, a Germany tightly shackled to the chariot wheels of her conquerors would become a Germany of bankruptcy, despair and madness, capable of involving the rest of Europe in her own demoralization.

The League of Nations which is a part of the peace settlement is designed to prevent another general war. If a further safeguard be needed it will be found in the exemplary character of punishment meted out by the Conference. Germany appears at Versailles not as an equal in negotiation but as a convicted nation at the judgment bar of a grievously wronged world. It would be beside the question for the defendant to plead that the tribunal is a partial one, that the plaintiffs have made themselves judges and given a decision in their own favor. No strictly impartial tribunal was ever convened by the victors in a great war. The Paris tribunal is no exception to the rule, but an examination of its work shows that while it has been severe in its treatment of the guilty it has not been unjust. And it admirably supplements the purpose of the League of Nations in pillorying Germany as a

breaker of treaties, a defier of international law and a wanton disturber of the world's peace. It makes of her an example which will stand for all time as a warning against lawless ambition and swashbuckling militarism. If any single nation is ever again tempted to tread the path that imperial Germany pursued the consequences of that course as embodied in this Peace Treaty will be remembered as a warning and a deterrent.

Will Germany sign without undue delay? She will. Her delegates will haggle a little. They will ask for modification of some terms. They must do at least so much in deference to public opinion at home. But they know, and the German press knows, and the German people know, that the penalties prescribed are less than those which Germany herself would have saddled upon defeated enemies. Germany needs peace more than England needs it, more than France needs it, more than Italy needs it; needs it far more than the United States needs it. She will not challenge the economic isolation which a refusal to sign would immediately entail. She will not risk the permanent occupation of her territory by the armed forces of France and England. She will seek the opening of her idle factories, the rebuilding of her shattered trade. Only in this way can she satisfy the living needs of her own people; in this way only can she pay her just debts. It is a fairly safe prediction that she will sign within the period prescribed for her signature.

How Germany Is Shorn Of Her Military Strength By Peace Treaty Terms

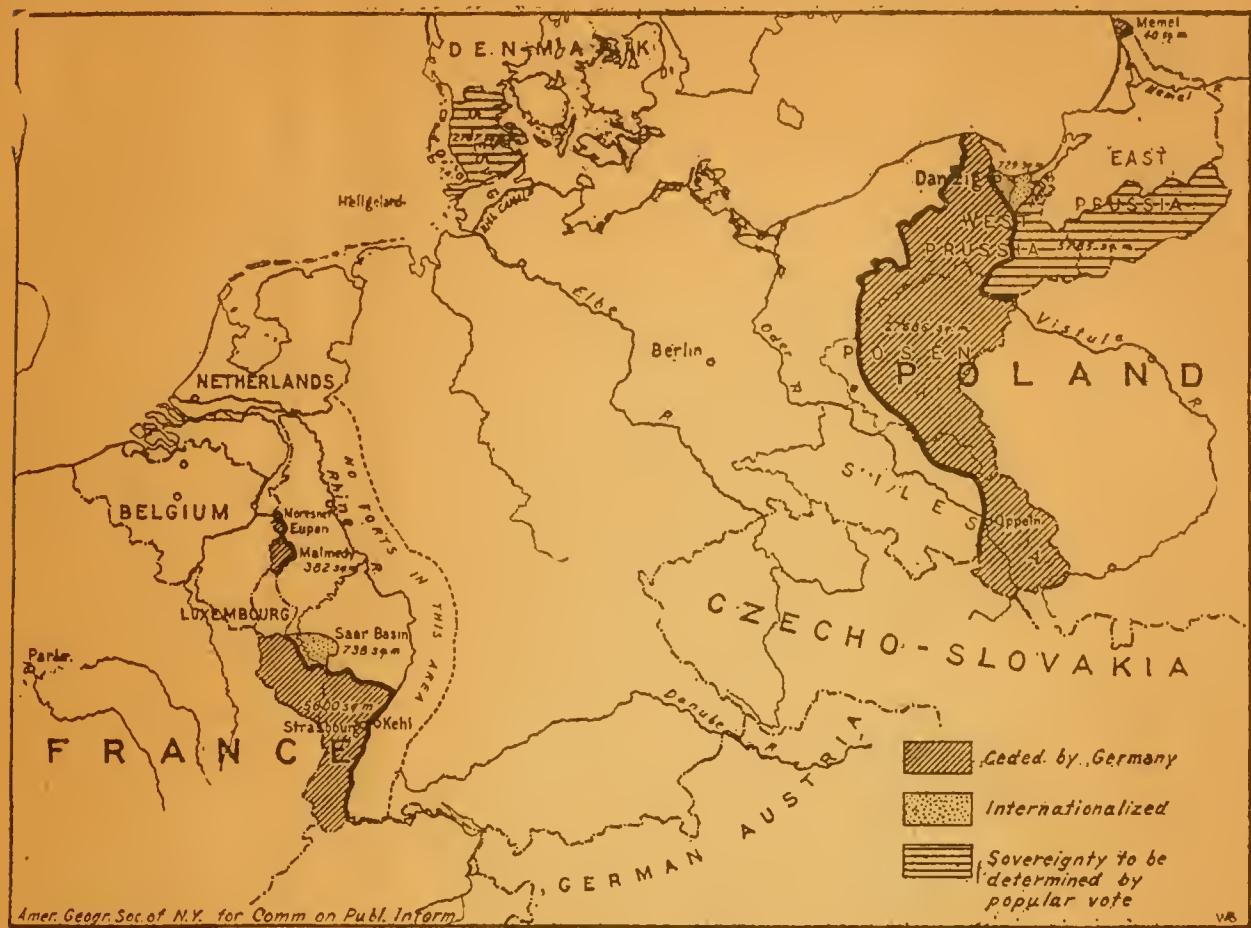
ARMY BEFORE THE WAR.

Standing army	790,000
Reserves	3,050,000
Total	3,840,000
	Future Force.
Army.....	100,000

NAVY BEFORE THE WAR.

Dreadnoughts	21
Torpedo boats	150
Submarines	20
Ships of other classes	110
Total force.....	301
	Future Force.
Battleships	6
Light cruisers	6
Torpedo boats	12
Total force.....	24

The Map of Europe Under the Peace Treaty



Rantzau Admits Defeat; Denies Germany's Sole Guilt

After Premier Clemenceau had delivered his speech, Paul Dutasta, Secretary General of the Conference, delivered a copy of the Treaty to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, who, accepting the document, spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen—We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German army is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the vanquished may make us pay as the vanquished, and shall punish those who are worthy of being punished.

Germany Not Alone Guilty.

"It is demanded from us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a con-

fession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility that this great war of the world has come to pass and that it was made in the way in which it was made. The attitude of the former German Government at The Hague Peace Conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic 12 days of July have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty.

"Nobody will want to contend that the disaster took its course only in the disastrous moment when the successor to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last 50 years the imperialism of all the European States has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion and the disregard of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny have contributed to the illness of Europe, which saw its crisis in the World War.

"Russian mobilization took from the statesmen the possibility of healing, and gave the decision into the hands of the military powers. Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here also we are ready to confess wrong that may have been done.

Admits Wrong Done Belgium.

"We have not come here to be the responsibility of the men who have waged the war politically and economically or to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples. We repeat the declaration which has been made in the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say, 'Wrong has been done to Belgium,' and we are willing to repair it.

"But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty one. Every nation knows of deeds and of people which the best nations only remember with regret. I do not want to answer by reproaches to reproaches, but I ask them to remember when reparation is demanded not to forget the armistice. It took you six weeks until we got it at last, and six more until we came to know your conditions of peace.

"Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense

of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of peoples blunt.

"The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have perished since November 11 by reason of the blockade were killed with cold deliberation after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and punishment.

Demands an Impartial Inquest.

"The measure of the guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by an impartial inquest before a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest and we repeat this demand.

"In this conference also, where we stand toward our adversaries alone and without any allies, we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally, namely, the right which is guaranteed by the treaty and by the principles of peace.

"The allied and associated governments have foresworn in the time between the 5th of October and the 6th of November, 1918, a peace of violence, and have written a peace of justice on their banner. On the 6th of October, 1918, the German Government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of North America as the basis of peace, and on the 5th of November their Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declared that the allied and associated powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations.

"The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding to both parties to the war—for you as well as for us and also for our former allies. The various principles demand from us heavy national and economic sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

Ready to Repair Wrongs.

"You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us, with a firm intention of rebuilding in common work with you that which has been destroyed and repairing any wrong that may have been committed, principally the wrong to Belgium, and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

"Considering the tremendous quantity of problems which arise we ought as soon as possible to make an examination of the principal tasks by special commissions of experts, on the basis of the treaty which you have proposed to us. In this it will be our chief task to re-establish the devastated vigor of mankind and of all the people who have taken part by international protection of the life, health and liberty of the working classes.

"As our next aim, I consider the reconstruction of the territories of Belgium and of northern France,

which have been occupied by us and which have been destroyed by war.

"To do so we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation, and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which shall have been agreed upon between us. This task we cannot do without the co-operation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples, and you cannot execute it without us.

Warns Against Using German Prisoners.

"Impoverished Europe must desire that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success and with as little expense as in any way possible. This desire can only be employed. It would be the worst method to go on and have the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair shall seize the German people when they consider that their brothers, sons and fathers who are prisoners are kept prisoners beyond the preliminary peace in former penal work.

"Without any immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace. Experts of both sides will have to examine how the German people may come up to their financial obligation to repair, without succumbing under their heavy burden. A crash would bereave those who have a right to repair, to the advantages to which they have a claim, and would

draw after it irretrievable disorder of the whole European economical system.

"The vanquishers, as well as the vanquished peoples, must guard against this menacing danger with its incalculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited confessions of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising League of Nations.

"Gentlemen: The sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the League of Nations. The greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced, and will make its way. Only if the gates of the League of Nations are thrown open to all who are of good will can the aim be attained, and only then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

"The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy lot, if the bases of peace which have been established are not any more shaken.

"The peace which may not be defended in the name of right before the world always calls forth new resistance against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfillment. Nobody could be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature.

"We shall examine the document handed to us with good will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us."

Wilson Sees International Law as the Great Factor In Restoring Order to World

In a brief, epigrammatic speech at a dinner in Paris on May 9, President Wilson touched on the future role of international law in the development of the new order of things.

"One of the things that has disturbed me in recent months," he said, "is the unqualified hope men have entertained everywhere of immediate emancipation from the things that have hampered and oppressed them. You cannot, in human experience, rush into the light. You have to go through twilight into the broadening day before noon comes and the full sun is on the landscape. We must see to it that those who hope are not disappointed, by showing them the

process by which the hope must be realized—the processes of law, the processes of slow disentanglement from the many things that have bound us in the past.

"The intelligent development of international law will be one of the things of most consequence to men in the future. If we can now give to international law the kind of vitality it can have only if it is the real expression of our moral judgment, we shall have completed in some sense the work which this war was intended to emphasize."

The President concluded by saying: "In a sense, the old international law is played out. The future of mankind depends more upon the relations of nations to one another than upon the separate and selfish development of the national systems now."

SUMMARY OF TREATY OF PEACE

PREAMBLE

The preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, described as the five allied Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, The Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Tzecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay, who with the five above are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part Germany.

It states that: bearing in mind that on the request of the then Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, by the five allied and associated powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form), have agreed as follows:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From the moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty official relations with Germany, and with each of the German States, will be resumed by the allied and associated powers.

SECTION I

League of Nations.

The covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section 1 of the peace treaty, which places upon the League many specific, in addition to its general duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Saar Commission, oversee its regime, and carry out the plebiscite. It will appoint the High Commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites of the Belgian-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal and decide certain of the economic and financial problems. An international conference on labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways and railways is foreshadowed.

Membership.

The members of the League will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede, who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. A new State, dominion or colony may be admitted provided its

admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly. A State may withdraw upon giving two years notice if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

SECTION II

Secretariat.

A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the League which will be at Geneva.

Assembly.

The Assembly will consist of representatives of the member of the league, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by states. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

Council.

The Council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the assembly from time to time; it may accept additional states and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by states. Each state will have one vote and not more than one representative. Decision taken by the Assembly and Council must be unanimous except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

Armaments.

The Council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are with any party to the dispute which complies with it; if a member fails to carry out the award, the Council will propose the necessary measures. The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions: members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the Assembly. If the Council, less the parties to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case a recommendation by the Assembly adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the Council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programmes, and a permanent commission will advise the Council on military and naval questions.

Preventing of War.

Upon any war or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out an arbitral award, and not to go to war concurred in by all its members represented on the Council and a simple majority of the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the Council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured the members reserve the right to take such measures as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in

disregard of the Covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the League collectively for the protection of the Covenants and will afford facilities to members co-operating in this enterprise.

Validity of Treaties.

All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institute of the League will be registered with the secretariat and published. The assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger of peace. The Covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagement such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

The Mandatory System.

The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be entrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The Covenant recognizes three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandatories.

(a) Communities like those belonging to the Turkish Empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from a mandatory in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the members of the League, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members; certain abuses, such as trade in slaves, arms, and liquor, will be prohibited, and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(c) Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

General International Provisions.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will in general endeavor, through the international organization established by the labor convention to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women and children in their own countries and other countries, undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, etc., and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communications and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the League, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease. International bureaus and commissions al-

ready established will be placed under the League, as well as those to be established in the future period.

Amendments to the Covenant.

Amendments to the Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Council and by a majority of the assembly.

Boundaries of Germany.

Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, five thousand six hundred square miles in the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland, totalling nine hundred and eighty square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, twenty-seven thousand, six hundred and eighty-six square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeasternmost tip of East Prussia, forty square miles north of the River Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, seven hundred and twenty-nine square miles, and the basin of the Saar, seven hundred and thirty-eight square miles, bet. the western border of the Rhenish palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula Rivers made a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the city of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude fifty-three degrees three minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, five thousand, seven hundred and eighty-five square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, two thousand, seven hundred and eighty-seven square miles.

SECTION III

Belgium.

Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839 by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the Allied and Associated Powers may determine to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmedy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceases to be a part of the German zollverein from January first, last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it, reached by the Allied and Associated Powers.

Left Bank of the Rhine.

As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any maneuvers, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world.

²By virtue of the present treaty, Ger-

many shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the Council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

Alsace Lorraine.

After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the treaty of Frankfort are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last named class includes German residents in Alsace Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace Lorrainers as defined in the treaty. All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to French without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways. The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation for their upkeep.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace Lorraine and re-exported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years.

For seven years with possible extension to ten the ports of Kehae and Strassbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the central Rhine commission. Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the Nationals vessels and goods of every country. Contracts between Alsace Lorraine and Germans are maintained save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest, judgments of courts held in certain classes of cases, while in others a judicial executive is first required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory. Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the Treaty to the special conditions of Alsace Lorraine, certain matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

The Saar—In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France and as payment on account of reparation Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities their value will be estimated by the reparation commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine, as re-annexed to France, north as far as Stwendel, including on the west the valley of the Saar as far as Saarholzback, and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population, and guaran-

tee to France entire freedom in working the mines, the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations and consisting of five members: one French, one a native inhabitant of the Saar, and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany. The League will appoint a member of the commission as chairman to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria; will administer the railroads and other public services, and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses. The local courts will continue but subject to the commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly which it will organize. It will have the taxing power, but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly. Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the League. French and other labor may be freely utilized. The former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Saar commission. There will be no military service, but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property. The territory will form part of the French customs systems with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany nor on German products entering the basin, and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin for local consumption. French money may circulate without restriction.

After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing regime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over twenty resident therein at the time of the signature. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed the League will decide the ultimate sovereignty in any portion restored to Germany. The German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation. If the price is not paid within six months thereafter this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines the League will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

SECTION IV

German Austria.

Germany recognizes the total independence of German-Austria in the boundaries traced.

Tchecho-Slovakia.

Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Tchecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

Poland.

Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field boundary commission of seven, five representing the Allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic or religious minorities and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the five Allied and associated powers and Poland.

East Prussia.

The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as suing (word obscure) Poland is to be fixed by plebiscites, the first in the regency of Allenstein between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier of Regierungsbezirk Allenstein from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Augsburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhm and Rosenburg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within fifteen days of the peace and the territories be placed under an international commission of five members appointed by the five allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plebiscites to the five powers with a recommendation for the boundary and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

The five allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

Danzig.

Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "Free City of Danzig," under the guarantee of the League of Nations. A High Commissioner appointed by the League and President at Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three representatives chosen by the Allied and associated Powers, and one each by Germany and Poland.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the five Allied and associated Powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig which

shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, though a free area in the port: insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

Denmark.

The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tondern; the workmen's and sailors' councils shall be dissolved; and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the island of Als, north of Flensburg and south of Tondern to the North Sea north of the island of Sylt will vote as a unit within three weeks after the evacuation period. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North Sea south of the island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygum, will vote by communes. Two weeks after that vote the third zone running to the limit of evacuation will also vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the associated governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

Hellgoland.

The fortifications, military establishments and harbours of the islands of Heligoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labour, and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed, for any similar fortifications built in the future.

Russia.

Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the Allied and associated Powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon. The Allied and associated Powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation of the principles of the present treaty.

SECTION V**German Rights Outside Europe.**

Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges as to her own or her allies' territories to all the Allied and associated Powers, and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the five Allied Powers in relation thereto.

Colonies and Overseas Possessions.

Germany renounces in favor of the Allied and associated Powers her overseas possessions, with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority therein. These of Brussels of 1890. Diplomatic provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals and as to the conditions on which German subjects of European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business, Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damages suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or vs. frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of individual Germans from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914. Germany renounces all rights under the convention of November 4, 1911, September 29, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the repatriation commission all deposits, credits, advances, etc., thereby secured. Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the Allied and associated Powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa as well as to the general act of Berlin of 1885 and the general act of governments may make whatever protection to inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the governments exercising authority.

China.

Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer protocol of 1901 and all buildings, wharves, barracks for this, munitions of warships, wireless plants and other public property, except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiaochow, and agrees to return to China at her own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the Powers signatory to the Boxer protocol.

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any Allied and associated Government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her State property in the British concession of Canton and of France and China jointly of the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

Siam.

Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam including the right of extra-territoriality ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property except consular and diplomatic premises passes without compensation to Siam. German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

Liberia.

Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and

agreements between herself and Liberia and recognizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the re-establishment of Germans in Liberia.

Morocco.

Germany renounces all her rights, titles and privileges under the Act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911 and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and renounces the capitulations, the Sherifian government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

Egypt.

Germany recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulation and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property, and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the commission of public debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

Turkey and Bulgaria.

Germany accepts all arrangements which the Allied and associated Powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any right, privileges, or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

Shantung.

Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles and privileges, notably as to Kiaochow, and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, by and other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinaufu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo, the cables free of all charges. All German State property, movable and immovable, in Kiaochow is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

SECTION VI

Military, naval and air. In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow:

Military forces. The demobilization of the German Army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three

of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The great German General Staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employees of the German States, such as customs officers, first guards and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

Armaments.

All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail tables, all in excess to be surrendered, or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids is forbidden, as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

Conscription.

Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of twelve consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed five per cent of the total effectives. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of forty-five years and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for twenty-five years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

Fortresses.

All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in German territory within a zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Control.

Interallied Commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction or surrender of war equipment.

Naval.

The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will be allowed six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and no submarines, either military or commercial. With

a personnel of fifteen thousand men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of twenty-five years service for officers and twelve for men. No member of the German marine will be permitted any training. All German vessels of war in foreign ports, and the German high sea fleet interned at Scapa Flow, will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the Allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender forty-two modern destroyers, fifty modern torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels, all war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for, are to be placed in reserve or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships except those lost can take place only at the end of twenty years for battleships and fifteen years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be ten thousand tons. Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic defending the passages through the belts must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and calibre of the guns must not be increased.

During a period of three months after the peace, German high power wireless stations, at Nauen, Hanover and Berlin will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes and under supervision of the Allied and associated governments, nor may any more be constructed.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut, but are not being utilized by the Allied Power, and also portions of cables which, after having been cut, have been removed, or are at any rate not being utilized by anyone of the Allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of Allied and associated powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

Air.

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over one hundred unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October first to search for submarine mines. No dirigible shall be kept.

The entire personnel is to be demobilized within two months, except for one thousand officers and men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within one hundred and fifty kilometers of the Rhine or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the hundred seaplanes already specified.

Prisoners of War.

The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the Allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offences against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentence. Until Germany has sur-

rendered persons guilty of offences against the laws and customs of war, the Allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The Allies may deal at their own discretion with German yationels who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of enquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed Allied nationals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to Allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to ~~dead~~ prisoners and their graves.

Graves.

Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any Allied or Associate Government with identifying, registering, maintaining or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

SECTION VII

Reparation and Restitution.

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and other allies.

While the Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other Treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

(a) Damage by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly, including bombardments from the air.

(b) Damage caused to civilians, including exposure at sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy and to civilians in the occupied territories.

(c) Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

(d) Damages to the Allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this Treaty.

(e) Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

(f) Damage to civilians by being forced to labor.

(g) Damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839, up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the reparation commission 5 per cent. gold bonds, falling due in 1926. The total obligation of Germany to pay as defined in the category of damages is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing, and not later than May 1, 1921, by an inter-allied reparation commission.

At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the

full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the Allies cash and certain articles which can be identified. As an immediate step toward restoration Germany shall pay within two years one thousand million pounds sterling in either gold, goods, ships or other specific forms of payment. This sum being included in, and not additional to first thousand million bond issue referred to below. With the understanding that certain expenses, such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials, may be deducted at the discretion of the Allies.

In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the reparation commission shall examine the German system of taxation, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues, prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and, secondly, so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, a representative of Serbia or Japan taking the place of the Belgian representative when the interests of either country are particularly affected, with all other Allied Powers entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay and shall assure a just opportunity to be heard.

It shall make its headquarters at Paris; establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control of the whole reparation problem, and become the exclusive agency of the Allies for receiving, holding, selling and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, any postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930, and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years of the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar form or case and the interpretation of provisions.

Withdrawal from representation on the commission is permitted upon twelve months' notice. The commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guarantee, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgement of its debt as follows:

One thousand million pounds sterling, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; two thousand million pounds sterling bearing 2½ per cent. interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent. with

a 1 per cent sinking fund payment, beginning in 1926, and an undertaking to deliver bonds to an additional amount of two thousand million pounds sterling bearing interest at 5 per cent.

Under terms to be fixed by the commission, interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent., unless otherwise determined by the commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may be accepted by the commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, etc. Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany may be issued by the commission to the interested powers. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the commission an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their part value is to be considered as liquidated.

Shipping.

The German government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upwards, one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the reparation commission, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships from encumbrance.

As an additional part of reparation the German government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years. All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the Allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cessation of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent thereof.

Devastated Areas.

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded area. The reparation commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes with the consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

Coal, Etc.

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between annual pre-war output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and annual production during above ten years. Germany further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons coal per year to France, in addition to the above, of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920 to 8,500,000 tons in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in ratio of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar, and sulphate of ammonia. The commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with industrial requirements of Germany.

Dyestuffs and Chemical Drugs.

Germany accords option to the commission on dye stuffs and chemical

drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent. of total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes in force and similar options during each six months to end of 1924 up to 25 per cent. of previous six months' output.

Cables.

Germany renounces all title to specified cables, value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

Special Provisions.

As reparation for the destruction of the library of Louvain, Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, etc., to the equivalent of those destroyed. In addition to the above, Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings now at Berlin belonging to the altar piece of the Adoration of the Lamb, by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, the center of which is now in the church of Saint Bavo at Ghent, and the wings now at Berlin and Munich of the altar piece of the Last Supper, by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter, at Louvain. Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz I, and the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

SECTION VIII

Economic Clauses—Customs.

For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914 and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk and

Ships of the Allied and Associated washed or scoured wool. This restriction obtains for two and a half years more for five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations. Germany must give most favored nation treatment to the Allied and Associated Powers, she shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxembourg.

Shipping.

Ships of the Allied and Associated Powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity unless the League of Nations otherwise decides enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels and have most favored nation treatment in fishing, coasting, trade and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no seacoast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

Unfair Competition.

Germany undertakes to give the trade of the Allied and Associated Powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits!

Treatment of Nationals.

Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restriction upon the nationals of allied and associated States for a period of five years and unless the League of Nations acts for an additional five years German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated state.

Multilateral Conventions.

Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several as to postal and telegraphic conventions. Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new States she must agree as respects the radio-telegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to and adheres to the new convention when formulated in the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention. Rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers. As to the international railway union she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated, China as to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement, the arrangement of 1905 regarding Whangpoo and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Rumania as to the Hague convention of 1903, relating to civil procedure, and Great Britain and the United States as to article three of the Samoan treaty of 1899 are relieved of all obligations toward Germany.

Bilateral Treaties.

Each allied and associate State may renew any treaty with Germany insofar as consistent with the Peace Treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August first, nineteen fourteen, with other enemy States and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia and governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects are annulled. The allied and associated States are to enjoy most favored national treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy States before August first, nineteen fourteen, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral States during the war.

Pre-war Debts.

A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated State, which adopts the plan for the payment of pre-war debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war for the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations. Each participating State assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy States, except in cases of pre-war insolvency of the debtors; the proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that State, direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited. Disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country or by the mixed arbitral tribunal; any ally or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months notice.

Enemy Property.

Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated States may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany, for debts owed to their nationals by German nationals and for

other claims against Germany. Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated States. All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated Governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

Contracts.

Pre-war contracts between allied and associated nationals, excepting the United States, Japan and Brazil, and German nationals are canceled except for debts for accounts already performed, agreements for the transfer for property where the property has already passed, leases of land and houses, with contracts of mortgages, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with Governments and insurance contracts. Mixed arbitral tribunes shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the associated States and the third by agreement, or failing which by the President of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present Peace Treaty.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest. Sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war except where the risk insured against had already been incurred; where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable; otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated, unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer; any Allied or associated Power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nations and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

Industrial property rights as to industrial, literary and artistic property are re-established. The special war measures of the Allied and associated Powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and Germany, pre-war licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are canceled.

SECTION IX

Opium.

The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within 12 months of the peace the necessary legislation.

Religious Missions.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers. Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

Aerial Navigation.

Aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most favored nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept Allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923 unless Germany has since been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

Freedom of Transit.

Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by mail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nations, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

Free Zones in Ports.

Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, packing, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

International Rivers.

The Elbe from the junction of the Vltava, the Vltava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian states must ensure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions, to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czechoslovakia and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark and Sweden. If any riparian state on the Nieuwen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian state meet within three months to revise existing international agreement.

The Danube.

The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania. The upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definitive statute be drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the Allied and associated governments within one year after the peace. The enemy governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused to the European commission, shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory and give Czechoslovakia, Serbia and Roumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying out improvements in navigation.

The Rhine and the Moselle.

The Rhine is placed under the central commission to meet at Strassbourg within six months after the peace and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the president; four of Germany and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

SECTION X**Navigation Rights.**

Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium, similarly the interested Allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the central Rhine commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany must cede to the Allied and Associated governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine shares in the German navigation companies and property such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of war must be handed over.

Railways.

Germany, in addition to most favored nation treatment on her railways, agrees (agrees garbled in transmission) to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage; to ensure communication by rail between the Allied, Associated and other States; to allow the construction or improvement within 25 years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the Allied or Associated Powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gotthard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the

establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

Czechoslovakia.

To assure Czechoslovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Towards the Adriatic, she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for 99 years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

The Kiel Canal.

The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany, subjects, goods and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of or disagreement as to those provisions, any State may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

SECTION XIII**International Labor Organization.**

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the government and one each from the employers and the employed, each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which if passed by two-thirds vote must be submitted to the law-making authority in every State participating. Each government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each State agrees to make it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions, the governing body in its executive period consists of 24 members, twelve representing the governments, six the employers and six the employees to serve for three years.

On complaint that any government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that government and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the secretary general of the League. If the commission report fails to bring satisfactory action, the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law

will be publicity with a possibility of economic action in the background.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

Labor Clauses.

Nine principles of labor conditions we recognized on the ground that "the well being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development, they include: the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; right of association of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or forty-eight hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours; which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

SECTION XIV

Guarantees.

Western Europe: As a guarantee for the execution of the treaty, German territory to the west of the Rhine together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for fifteen years. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after fifteen years. In case the interallied reparation commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

Eastern Europe.

All German troops at present in territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the government concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

SECTION XV

Miscellaneous.

Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey and to recognize the new states in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees, as to German ships and goods, made by any allied or associated prize court. The allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts. The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratifications made in Paris as soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

German Acceptance Likely Rather Than Suffer the Full Penalty

By HENRY SUYDAM

Examination of the terms of peace presented to the German delegates by representatives of twenty-seven Allied and Associated Powers at Versailles shows that just punishment has been demanded of the guilty. That much is clear from a mere outline of the document. M. Clemenceau has said within the last few days and with his customary downrightness that the peace is a "good peace" from the French standpoint, at any rate. The severity of the punishment shows that it is indeed a "good peace"; so "good" that the mouths of American intransigents who feared Wilsonian weakness toward the Germans will be forever closed.

Now that the vast work of compiling and arranging these tremendous series of demands is finished, the next move in the situation must be made by the German delegates. The future of several million persons will be influenced one way or another during the next fortnight, according as the Germans affix their signatures or withhold them. The vital questions of the moment, are: (1) Will the Germans sign? and (2) What will happen if the Germans refuse?

Without entering, for the time being, into a detailed discussion of the terms of peace, this much may be said: That the treaty, as a whole, is more in the manner of previous treaties, conceived in the European diplomatic tradition, than in the Wilsonian manner which his American enemies believed to have been predominant. Although the armistice was signed on the basis of President Wilson's fourteen points, several of the more important have been ignored or abrogated, not, indeed, without some of our own associates (China and Jugoslavs, for example) being left dissatisfied. The main end in view, however, was the preservation of accord between the more powerful Allies as the framework of a League of Nations, and if a great deal of principle has been sacrificed to that mystic and somewhat elusive covenant, the sacrifices have been consecrated to a noble end, which, in this instance, may justify the means.

Fourteen Points a Focus.

But the fourteen points, some of which have been thrust aside before more urgent and explicit considerations, are again to become a focus in the dealings between the German and

associated governments. As soon as the Egbert-Scheidermann government came into power in November, 1918, the fourteen points began to be mouthed about in the neutral countries adjacent to Germany. Baron von Kuehlmann himself, the German Foreign Minister who had allowed the German General Staff cynically to defy his own much vaunted moderation at Brest-Litovsk, appeared in The Hague, for example, and began to apply the fourteen points to the question of the German colonies. It may be said, without indiscretion, that the Department of State has known for some time that the German defense against the terms of peace would be insistence upon the strictest adhesion to these Wilsonian dogmas. Count von Brockdorff-Rantau revealed the German line of argument and objection yesterday at Versailles when he read a document reminding the Allied and Associated Delegates that peace had been agreed upon on the basis of "justice without violence," as outlined in the fourteen points.

That the terms of peace as presented are just cannot be denied, in view of the damning German guilt which individual Germans of importance are beginning gradually to admit as the evidence accumulates. Whether or not the terms are violent, or rather whether they will seem violent to the Germans, depends on their own state of mind, their own ambitions, their own conscience. If the German masses still cherish aggressive designs, if they are full of a spirit of revenge for their defeat, then the terms are very violent, for the German army, navy and air forces are reduced to the limits of a police force or abolished. If, on the other hand, as we have been assured, the Germans have experienced a change of heart since the revolution, then the terms may seem severe and stringent, and perhaps even burdensome and domineering, not violent in the manner of the victor, but rather just in the manner of a judge.

German Government Will Protest.

That the German Government will not sign the terms of peace without going on record against them, in the most emphatic manner possible, is certain. The German objections will probably fall into three divisions: (1) the charge that the terms are not in accordance with the 14 points which were the basis of the armistice in November, 1918; (2) protest that the German Republic is not to be admitted to a League of Nations, and (3) that the strictness of the terms would mean economic and social vas- salage for the German electorato.

This last argument has already been emotionally advanced by Count Bernstorff, the sinister, and from that very fact loses force before its official expression.

The first two of these points will lend themselves well to eloquent diplomatic terminology which will doubtless provide material for equally eloquent protagonism in the more advanced liberal reviews in both Great Britain and the United States. But all such argument will be a mere diplomatic smoke-screen veiling the truth that the Germans do not want to pay one pfennig more than the Allies can be inveigled into considering as the minimum.

Let us now consider, for a moment, the general aims of the statesmen who have drawn up, after difficulties of which the world has had a mere occasional glimpse, this 80,000-word instrument of justice. There is no sign of weakness or conciliation in the treaty. It is a demand for the maximum compensation that can with fairness be exacted. Among the statesmen who gathered in Paris in January, 1919, to undertake this tremendous task, President Wilson and Premier Lloyd-George especially were opposed to further retaliation against the Germans, either in the form of prolonged and extensive occupation of German territories, or in the form of an economic blockade, both of which were undesirable because of the hardships which either would impose upon the Associated Nations themselves. It was most desirable that a stable German Government should be maintained, and that the German masses (and the rest of Europe with them) should return to normal hard-working industry as soon as possible, and with the least possible confusion. The things that had made the German Empire formidable were to be revised or abolished, but the Germans, as a nation, were not to be trodden under-foot, as some of our more advanced American and English liberals seem to think, but to be reconstituted into a profitable self-governing venture which would devote its industries, in the first instance, toward the settlement of its just debts.

Financial Demand Sound.

With these ends in mind, hundreds of economic and social experts were sent to all parts of Germany. Their reports, supplemented by the conclusions and observations of the military and naval intelligence services of all the associated governments, were considered in Paris with the most minute care. Some of the best qualified financial brains in the world passed judgment upon them. The result, as presented in the terms of peace, is not an excessive demand—such as the French and Italians might have been tempted to present—but an adequate one, which M. Clemenceau himself has pronounced good and which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd-George believe financially sound and morally just. The Allies could ask no more, nor the Germans expect less.

As far as the other precautionary provisions of the treaty are concerned, this much may be said: That the Imperial Government gambled

and lost, and that one of the stakes in that hazard was the perverted temper and humor of the German masses themselves. As long as the League of Nations is, in essence, more of an aspiration than a strict working force in which sane internationalism is a vital principle, there is every aspect of justice and fairness in reducing the Germans to impotence. The abolition of armament in one place will reduce its value in others, and is, indeed, a very great step forward, in which the German masses might themselves rejoice.

Such, in a few words, is the general allied background of this document. It will be profitable now to examine the German attitude.

Present German Government.

The one German Government on the horizon is the present Ebert-Scheidemann regime. This regime presents the faults and disqualifications that might be expected from a conglomeration of men—none too clever, none too straightforward, none too forward-looking, who have been more or less involved in the murky mazes of German party politics. Just what the German Government has spread abroad among its own constituents concerning the treaty of peace is not clear, but this much is certain: that the German Government has threatened Bolshevism, anarchy, or the forcing of a large-scale allied occupation of Germany, if the peace terms are too severe. Several of the more powerful German bankers came out into Holland in December and January and uttered dire warnings, full of drama and mock-pathos, about what would happen if the terms were too drastic to suit.

The present government will act upon the terms of peace in accordance with their own notions of what course is most likely to maintain them in power. The shock of the terms will be devastating to German national pride, but that, after all, has suffered a succession of rude offenses since the German armies collapsed. I do not believe that the Germans, either as a government or a nation, have any stomach for the miseries of Bolshevism or chaos, so that the possible alternatives are either that the Germans will sign under protest, or that they will refuse and invite a national occupation.

Mistake of the Germans

The Germans, however, made the great mistake of facing the prospect with too casual a countenance. They knew, and certainly the allied and associated governments realized, that a prolonged occupation on a large scale would thwart the popular clamor of their own people for rapid demobilization and would continue the war-time dislocation of essential domestic industries. For reasons which it may be best not to examine too minutely, it was scarcely a workable proposition. The Council of Foreign Ministers of the Peace Conference therefore issued an official communication within the past week warning the German Government that failure

to sign the Treaty would mean the complete economic isolation of Germany. This is, indeed, a far more terrifying weapon than mere occupation, for it would mean the cessation of exports and imports, either of food or raw material, the isolation of German finance, the killing paralysis of all aspects of German existence. With the disorganization of Government services and agencies such as existed in Germany during the war, it would mean punishment far more devastating than the recent war-time blockade of German ports.

In spite of a somewhat wide knowledge of German affairs, I may say quite frankly that I do not dare to hazard an opinion on the prospect of the next fifteen days. Viewed from the German standpoint, the terms of peace will appear nothing short of crushing. Viewed from the German standpoint again, the alternative to their acceptance ought to appear as the gaunt figure of famine, the red hand of fratricide, the descent of a nation into the abyss.

Germans Want Peace.

The one clear fact in the situation is that the Germans want peace and want it in the worst way. Their temper, as shown thus far toward the matter, is pliant and reasonable: there is no doubt that the German masses are in a mood of desperation in which they will accept almost anything. But whether the German Government will be able to swallow the territorial arrangements is another matter.

Occupation would mean undeniable hardships for our troops, and, at such a distance from home, would be more trying than for the British or French. Except in the limited area now held, it does not appear, however, to be on the program. The weapon of economic isolation does. It is natural to ask what condition the Germans, either physically or morally, would be in after a more or less prolonged period of paralysis, and whether German industry and trade and finance would be able to recover, after such isolation, with sufficient energy to meet the terms of peace. Meanwhile, the reparations of which the Belgians seem in urgent need in order to undertake their economic restitution would be unpaid, and the hideous waste of Northern France would be reproachfully neglected. The delicate processes of international readjustment would be postponed—the world, in a sense, would stand still. Meanwhile, if the Germans remained obdurate, there is the probability that the German Government could no longer control the situation, and that Central Europe might degenerate into a seething chaos, from which we could recover nothing.

Thus we arrive finally at our last weapon—the weapon with which we started: force. If the Germans refuse to sign this Treaty of Peace, more blows must be struck, and struck hard. I, for one, have seen enough of the large humiliations and the small meannesses of war to realize that there can be no place for weakness or sentimentality, that we must strike again and again until our blows render even the most revolting acts somewhat clean and true.

GERMAN ISOLATION IS MADE ABSOLUTE

By CLEVELAND RODGERS.

Count every advantage possessed by Germany as a military power before the war, add all the advantages developed as a result of the war's lessons and the unparalleled metamorphosis of a whole nation into a gigantic military machine; count brains, training, confidence and fanaticism as tangible things and put all within the area overrun at the time the German tide of invasion was at its height throughout Europe and some measure of what Germany loses in a military way may be gathered from a study of the terms of peace just presented to the German delegates at Versailles.

All that is left of Germany stands alone. Austria-Hungary has ceased to exist. Even German Austria is placed beyond the pale of German domination. Turkey has suffered a similar fate, and with Bulgaria has been definitely separated from Germanic Europe by the new and anti-German States of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and a greater Rumania. As a result there remains a Germany, but the Central Empires, the Central League, could never again come into existence.

Boundaries cannot be ignored in considering Germany's warmaking. Alsace-Lorraine gave Germany her jumping-off place for an attack upon France, an advantage no less real because the Hun chose to attack through Belgium, since France was struck through Belgium precisely for the reason that France was compelled to guard her eastern frontier. There will be no jumping-off place for the Germany of the future, east or west. There will be no cover for her troops within fifty kilometers of the Rhine. Perhaps it is even more important that the new boundaries of Germany in the east rob her of her old-time advantage in this respect, a feature that will be appreciated most by the new Polish State and the State that will come from a resurrected Russia.

NO MORE "PREPAREDNESS" FOR GERMANY.

Germany's military power came from forty years of preparations. Her army was the finest ever drilled. It was a conscript army. It was larger than France or the Allies ever suspected and the masses poured into Belgium were an element of surprise. Germany is to have an army of 100,000 men, including 4,000 officers. They must be volunteers willing to serve from twelve to twenty-five years. Switzerland has a peace army five times as large as this, and a better army than is possible under this system. And there will be no Great General Staff to conquer the world on paper as an inspiration to Junkers yet unborn.

Germany reached France through Belgium in record time largely through the use of guns of enormous caliber, which reduced all the fortifications in their way in astonishing time and revolutionized warfare in a fortnight. The new German Army will have no artillery larger than 6-inch guns, and the League of Nations will see to it that war materials of all kinds are reduced to a minimum. Krupps will go out of business as a war factor in Germany and as the source of supply for war machinery for the smaller States. Incidentally, this provision is made practically useless by the relinquishing of the Lorraine iron mines and the Saar coal fields. Without this coal and iron Ger-

many would never have become the greatest war-making power in Europe.

GERMANY'S ISOLATION COMPLETE.

Germany's isolation is made more complete by the Allies taking over control of her wireless and cable communications, the former especially having served Germany mightily during the war. And back of all this, of course, is the automatic check on any military effort made secure by the financial impotency of the German State.

When it comes to naval affairs, the German dream of five years ago becomes one of the greatest of her nightmares. Germany simply ceases to exist as a naval power, while the retribution imposed in the policy of forcing her to pay ton for ton for ships destroyed will reduce her merchant marine to almost negligible proportions for many years to come. With six battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers and twelve torpedo boats, none over 10,000 tons, Germany will rank with the smallest States in Europe in naval armament.

As a further naval consideration, Helgoland is to be demolished as a military stronghold and the Kiel Canal, built to give the German Navy double strength by permitting it to

shift from the North Sea to the Baltic, is to be internationalized. Denmark is to have the Danish part of Schleswig restored, which will further weaken Germany as a sea power, as will the removal of barriers in the waters around Denmark, which virtually made the Baltic a German lake even while Russia was a naval power.

GERMANS BARRED FROM THE AIR.

Of the utmost importance in relation to future possibilities in warfare, is the restriction upon German aircraft. Except for 100 unarmed seaplanes to be used in clearing the North Sea of mines, Germany is to be deprived of aircraft of all kinds, including dirigibles. This will preclude the possibility of Germany at some future date waging war in the air when all other means are denied her. In the same category are the prohibitions concerning the manufacture of chemicals used in bombs and shells. The fiendish devices developed during the war are not to be surreptitiously developed with the idea that a defeat in this war can be wiped out by poisoning or bombing Europe out of existence at some future date.

These are the high lights in the treaty, as they affect German military power. No such restrictions were ever before imposed upon a defeated foe. They are all in the interest of peace, and they were justified in advance by the practices of Germany and by the whole lesson of the war, which was that a great Power, armed to the teeth, is bound sooner or later, to let loose her war machine upon the world.

PUNISHMENT TO FIT EX-KAISER'S CRIMES

By FREDERICK BOYD STEVENSON

When a criminal stands before the bar of justice two great legal questions arise:

1—Responsibility.

2—Punishment.

Wilhelm Hohenzollern, one-time King of Prussia, one-time German Emperor, today stands before the bar of justice of the world. He has been indicted on the charge of "a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." His trial is demanded in the treaty.

Burke has said that one cannot indict a whole nation. No one with sane reasoning powers doubts the guilt of practically the entire population of Germany. All Germany will be punished indirectly, but all Germany cannot be punished directly. The stupendous crime of inciting, urging and compelling the German people to commit the long series of crimes against humanity was born in the hearts of individuals, planned by their brains, carried out by their military cunning and executed through their brutality. These individuals are responsible for the master crime. But there was a chief among these master criminals.

Who was he?

Wilhelm Hohenzollern of Prussia.

First comes the proof of his individual responsibility.

WILHELM'S ATTEMPT TO SET UP AN ALIBI.

Fearing and anticipating the outcome of the mighty victory of the Allies, Wilhelm Hohenzollern, hiding in Holland, set up an alibi. He and his adherents circulated the report that a military clique in Berlin and Vienna plotted the war and forced the Kaiser of Germany and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary into it, against

their wills. It was said by the propagandists of the Kaiser that he was powerless to prevent the trend of events and was actually ignorant of the final steps, having been cruising in Norwegian waters at the time of the outbreak of the war. These propagandists insisted that he hastened home and sent feverish messages to the Czar and other Entente rulers in his endeavor to prevent hostilities.

But this alibi has been exposed as false. The main witnesses to disprove it are Germans who were in high authority at the exact time when Germany plunged all the world into darkness.

LICHNOWSKY'S EVIDENCE AGAINST WILHELM.

One of these witnesses is Prince Lichnowsky. At the outbreak of the war he was the German Ambassador to Great Britain. He wrote a private journal recounting all the rapidly moving facts of the great drama. The Lichnowsky memorandum conclusively shows that the select military clique at Berlin plotted the war, planned the war, executed the war and were absolutely responsible collectively and individually for all the crimes, for all the violation of treaties and for all the atrocities of brutalized Huns. Lichnowsky charges, without equivocation, that the then boasting Kaiser, the now cringing Wilhelm of Hohenzollern, was at the head of this clique at Berlin. Lichnowsky makes plain that Wilhelm of Hohenzollern was personally responsible for the war, as an instigator of it and as the only man in the world who could have ordered the war or prevented the war by a simple "Yes" or an emphatic "No."

Dr. Muehlon's Damaging Testimony.

Another witness against the Kaiser is also a German. He is Dr. Muehlon, a former director of the great Krupps war works, who, after his expose was banished to Switzerland. Dr. Muehlon recites with all the circumstantial details the story of a meeting of the German Crown Council on July 5, 1914, at which war was decided upon and the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia framed. The trip to Norway was a blind. The Kaiser did not leave Germany. The Kaiser was the head of the whole war plot. There is no question as to his individual responsibility.

There is no question as to the guilt of the former German Kaiser. Now, then, what shall be his punishment? All the people of the world who are not Germans or German sympathizers now feel assured that individual

trials are coming for the guilty and satisfied that the punishment will fall where it is due.

Full Justice Will Be Done.

Whatever punishment is meted out to the Kaiser and the others associated with him, if found guilty, there is a universal feeling that these punishments will fit the crimes. For the one-time Kaiser it may be death or banishment or other punitive sentence. For those who were acting with him it may be death or banishment or other punishment. But whatever may be the decision, one thing is certain: The whole civilized world is breathing freer, for it feels that full justice will be done and that the old but never-worn-out axiom, "Right is Might and will prevail," holds as true today as it has held through the centuries.

It will make of Poland a strong industrial State with closely linked frontiers and with the possibility of menacing Berlin almost immediately in case of war between Poland and Germany. It gives to Poland direct access to the sea through the Vistula, which is navigable for deep draught ships for a considerable distance and the internationalization of Danzig gives the new Polish State unrestricted opportunities at this port.

As the boundary lines are drawn, and irrespective of the future decisions of the plebiscites, large German minorities are incorporated within the new Polish State. A much smaller fraction of Polish minority populations are left within the German frontiers. It would have been impossible to draw the frontiers without including hundreds of thousands of Poles or Germans under alien rule and it was natural that the treaty makers should show more consideration for the Poles than for the Germans.

It is to be expected that the Germans will fight hard to secure a change in the Polish frontiers. They will protest against the geographical isolation from the rest of Germany of some 3,000,000 Germans in East Prussia. They will also try to obtain a change in the boundaries of Silesia and Posen, which will enlarge the plebiscite areas in those districts.

Poland a New World Power

By H. V. KALTENBORN

The treaty with Germany brings the State of Poland into being as a world power. Poland disappeared from the map as an independent country in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. At that time three great autocracies, Russia, Prussia and Austria, divided up the country among themselves. Three great democracies, France, Britain and the United States, have now restored Poland to her ancient power.

The treaty with Germany fixes the boundaries of the new Poland only in part. The incorporation of the larger part of Galicia will be a part of the treaty with Austria and the delimitation of the Russian and Lithuanian boundaries will be adjudicated by the League of Nations after peace is established.

The actual territory taken away from Germany and directly transferred to Poland by the terms of the treaty includes the following:

Silesia—That comparatively narrow strip of Silesia which extends in a southeasterly direction and is surrounded on three sides by Polish territory beyond and including the city of Oppeln.

Posen—A rich agricultural district lying between Silesia and West Prussia. Almost all of Posen is included in the cession.

West Prussia—A large portion of that part of West Prussia lying west of the Vistula River. West Prussia being definitely severed from East Prussia by a corridor of Polish territory which extends from the old Russian frontier to the Baltic at Danzig.

The area taken from these three districts includes a total of 27,686 miles.

In addition to territory ceded outright to Poland, considerable areas in Silesia and East Prussia are to be administered by Allied authorities until plebiscites held in various districts determine the sentiment of the population with regard to joining Poland or remaining with Germany.

This condition affects about one-third of East Prussia, provision being made for plebiscites throughout the southeastern portion of this district, and the district lying between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes. The plebiscite area here totals 5,785 miles.

The exact line of the Polish frontier through the German province of Silesia will also be determined in part by a plebiscite. The area involved here is 2,787 square miles.

The decision of the Allies gives to Poland practically everything she

asked on the German frontier, and means that the French point of view on the creation of a strong buffer State between Russia and Germany has triumphed at the Peace Conference.

DENMARK WILL RECOVER PART OF SCHLESWIG

By Edward V. Riis, former head of the United States Committee on Public Information in Denmark.

The terms of the treaty give to a portion of Schleswig its opportunity to determine by a plebiscite whether it shall remain under German rule or rejoin Denmark.

An international commission will divide the territory under its jurisdiction into three zones. In the first zone lying nearest the Danish frontier the inhabitants will vote as a unit within three weeks after evacuation. The zone is so circumscribed that there is little question about there being a unanimous decision in favor of joining Denmark. In the case of the second or middle zone where the population is more mixed, the vote will be taken by communes within five weeks after the first vote. This will give some of the more German communes a chance for separate expression. Two weeks after that vote the third zone, comprising the rest of the evacuated territory will also vote by communes. The international commission in charge of the district will then draw the new frontier on the basis of this vote.

This is the fairest proposition that could possibly be arrived at since it will give every part of the population in the province a chance to determine its preference—whether it desires a reunion with Denmark or to remain under German rule.

There is no question but that the northern part of Schleswig—that is north of Flensburg—will return an overwhelming majority for Denmark. The great majority of the residents in this northern section are Danes. Years of persecution and oppression have failed to make them anything else. They hate Prussian rule with an intense hatred, which has few parallels in history. For fifty years they have been looking forward with a great yearning to that time when they might throw off the galling Prussian

yoke. Eighty per cent. of the people here are Danes.

In the central zone the vote should be closer with a likelihood that a preference will be expressed for Danish rule. What makes it doubtful is the location in this zone of the city of Flensburg, an ancient Danish town of 80,000 inhabitants, but which has been the central point of the Prussian efforts to Germanize the whole of Schleswig. There are strong men in northern part of Schleswig—that is energetically for the return of this central zone to Denmark.

Middle Schleswig has been partly Germanized, but the people talk Danish. In the hilly districts in the middle of this section there is an overwhelming majority of Danish origin, but in Flensburg the majority of the population has been German, chiefly German officials and their families, who have moved there since the German attempts to Prussianize the district have been set on foot.

As for South Schleswig there is a large German population there and the probabilities are the war has not greatly changed the German sentiment there. However, the clearing of the territory of German troops and German authorities should make a very appreciable difference.

In permitting the people of Schleswig to determine their own preference by popular vote the Allies are performing a simple act of justice. It was because the great European powers held aloof in 1864 and did not raise a hand to help little Denmark in her fight against the combined might of Prussia and Austria that Schleswig was gobbled up with Holstein, which is clear German, the way opened for the construction of the Kiel Canal and the foundation stone of the world war laid. Had there been no Kiel Canal there might never have been a world war.

FIVE PLEBISCITES ON GERMAN SOIL

The principle of a popular plebiscite on political allegiance, frequently announced by President Wilson as a cardinal principle of peace, receives a larger application in the treaty with Germany than it has had in all history. In five different provinces of the former German Empire the inhabitants are to have the opportunity not necessarily of choosing a new allegiance but of expressing their opinion as to what allegiance they prefer.

In each instance there is to be a plebiscite, i.e., a popular vote of the inhabitants. Different conditions for taking the vote are prescribed in each instance and the world will have an opportunity to witness the working out of a novel principle in international relations.

In the case of the Belgian frontier the treaty turns the contested territory of Morosnet and part of Prussian Morosnet over to the full sovereignty of Belgium and requires Germany to relinquish all rights over the districts of Eupen and Malmedy which are near that point on the German frontier from which armies marched into Belgium. Any time within six months from the signing of the treaty the inhabitants of these districts have the right to protest against this change in sovereignty, making their protest against all or any part of the change. The League of Nations reserves the right to decide upon the merits of the protest and provision is made for a commission which will settle the exact frontiers and make provisions for necessary changes in nationality.

A more concrete and explicit application of the plebiscite is included in the provisions regarding the Saar Valley. A popular vote is to be taken throughout the Saar district by communes in 1934. All inhabitants over twenty years of age, who are resident in the Saar district at the time the treaty is signed will vote. This provision excludes "colonization" by either France or Germany. Three options are to be given to the voters. They can vote to continue the district under the international administration provided by the treaty, they can vote to join France or to become once more a part of Germany. The League of Nations will then decide the ultimate sovereignty "taking into account the opinions thus expressed." It is to be noted that there is no definite obligation on the League to accept the decisions of the plebiscite. It is merely obliged to "take them into account."

In the case of East Prussia the treaty describes the area of a considerable district adjoining Poland and then orders German troops and German authorities to move out of this district within 15 days of the signing of the peace. These territories will then be administered by an international commission of five members appointed by the "Big Five." The particular duty of this commis-

sion is to arrange a "free, fair and secret vote." The commission will report the results of the vote to the Big Five together with its recommendations on the frontiers. The Big Five will decide how to divide up the territory in which the plebiscite was taken.

Similar procedure will be followed in the case of a portion of Silesia.

The provisions with regard to the plebiscite on the Danish frontier are again different. This is the only in-

stance where there is a definite use of the phrase "self-determination," presumably, because only in this instance are the inhabitants themselves the sole and final arbiters. Within ten days from the signing of the peace treaty the German authorities are required to evacuate the entire northern part of Schleswig adjoining the Danish frontier. Three separate plebiscites in different parts of Schleswig will follow.

The language of the treaty differs from that employed with regard to the plebiscites in other regions. It does not say that "the inhabitants may protest" or that the Commission shall "take into account" the desires of the inhabitants, but says: "The International Commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites."

WRITING THE TREATY IN FOUR LANGUAGES A KNOTTY PROBLEM

By GUY HICKOK, Staff Correspondent of The Eagle.

Making the peace treaty mean the same thing in French, English, German and Italian languages was one of the knottiest problems that faced the drafting committee during the closing days of the conference. It caused many of the unexpected delays at the end.

Wrangles for hours over the translation of a single word almost brought despair upon the tired men who were doing the mechanical part of getting the treaty into shape.

They were necessary wrangles. Experience with the League of Nations Constitution proved that, for everybody knew before the main treaty came up that the League document had been sadly bungled in the French translation. It was a wise member of the League committee who knew his own creation in another language.

One example of the difficulty in finding equivalent terms in the several languages cropped up right at the beginning of the conference. The French proponents of the plan, and the French press as well, persisted for several months in calling the thing the "Societe" of Nations. It was not until well along in April that they adopted the French word, "Ligue."

In the treaty proper endless complications arose. Did the word "contrôle" in French mean the same thing as "administration" in English? Could the French word, "gouvernement," be used as a synonym for the English word "government?"

The questions were not as trivial as they might seem. If you are translating a novel from one language into another the exact shade of meaning for a particular word may not be a vital point. The reader will know "who gets her." What else matters?

But anyone who has had any experience with any kind of a legal doc-

ument, even in English alone, knows how difficult it is to get just the proper word—the word that means one particular thing and no other.

Imagine the difficulty of making that same legal document water-tight in four languages, especially when even the fundamental ideas in the heads of the people who speak the four languages are different.

Care of the 14 Points.

Take another example—the famous 14 points. All the belligerents cheerfully accepted them when they were first set forth by President Wilson. Yet when it came to making good what a difference of interpretation there was.

The Germans held out stoutly for the 14 points, but their interpretation was never that of the French. The Italians accepted the idea of the self-determination of peoples, yet they had not the slightest idea of accepting any principle that would deprive them of Fiume, the little Adriatic seaport that became an obsession with them.

The number of such verbal problems in a legal document of more than 100,000 words put the drafters at their wits' ends. Long before April 25 the heads of the various missions were warned that they were riding for a fall when they stuck to their prognostications that the treaty would be ready for the Germans by that date.

Col. E. M. House once predicted that the signature would take place April 8.

He later had it booked for Easter. He later scheduled the presentation of the terms to the Germans for April 25 and the signature of the treaty for May 2.

The colonel was the most successful man in the whole conference at finding ways around corners.

He had the experienced political manipulator's knack of finding compromises that would work, but he could not find any way around the difficulty confronting the expert committee of treaty drafters—the difficulty of reaching legal exactness in four languages at once. There could be no compromise there.

THE OTHER PEACE TREATIES

There is comparatively little interest in the peace treaties still to be completed at Paris, and yet the treaties between the Associated Powers and Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey will in many respects more profoundly affect the political and geographical map of Europe than the peace terms handed Germany. Germany is, after all, a comparatively new state; the territory she is to lose, insignificant as compared with other changes, is merely being returned to states older than the German Empire.

The other treaties will mean the breaking up of mighty empires, the passing from the stage of powers that once dominated Central Europe and

the Near East. The dissolution of Austria-Hungary; the disappearance of the Turk from Europe; the resurrection of Poland, which will gain more from Austria and Russia than from Germany; the re-creation of Czechoslovakia; the birth of a great southern Slav state and a Greater Rumania; the expansion of modern Greece to redeem populations in lands that have been in alien hands since ancient days; the redemption of Palestine and Arabia from the Turks—these are historic changes of the first order and all are to be effected by treaties the drawing of which has created barely a ripple of interest save for the controversy over Fiume.

There is no Power capable of frus-

trating the purposes of the Allies in remaking Central Europe and the Near East, but it would be fatuous to ignore the tremendous importance of the liquidation of the war in this part of the world. The Balkans, Central Europe and the Near East will for a long time remain hotbeds of racial animosity and breeders of trouble. Without the promise of a League of Nations, fully capable of exerting its power to adjust disputes, it would be futile to attempt a settlement of some of the questions involved. And still it must be attempted, and we must depend upon the League of Nations to make the changes stick, or, at least, to sanction other changes in future without recourse to war.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

The Danes are reported to be pleased vastly with the peace treaty terms affecting Schleswig-Holstein. They have a right to be pleased. For the Danish Government has always taken the ground that any boundary settlement should give them no territory that is not Danish in heart, Danish in population, seeing that any other sort of annexation from Germany would only reopen of a question that was settled with finality.

Those who have given too little attention to the subject may as well grasp the fact that Denmark does not want Holstein, and wouldn't take it because she knows the population to be German. She does want the Danish part of Schleswig and she will get it now. What part of Schleswig is Danish is to be determined by plebiscites in three zones.

The first zone is north Schleswig. Eighty per cent. of the population are

Danes. About this there is no doubt at all.

The second zone is middle Schleswig, which contains the city of Flensburg with nearly 100,000 population, which the Kaiser made the center of operations for a Germanizing of the country, and in which the German submarines were fitted out, fine Danish sailors being impressed for navy service. This second zone is at least debatable.

The third zone is south Schleswig, where most of the population is German, and only a high appreciation of settled conditions under Denmark coupled with a great horror of anarchic conditions in Germany would lead a majority to vote for annexation to the smaller country.

The vote in these zones will be watched with interest by the world. Denmark can afford to be complacent. A great wrong will be righted when her borderline is rectified in pursuance of these plebiscites.

total amount of the reparation to be demanded of Germany has not been specified. A sum of approximately \$23,800,000,000 is indicated, but the total is to be determined later. Germany cannot plead that she cannot pay until she knows what the bill will be. The one item that must be met is the payment of \$4,760,000,000 within two years either in gold, goods, ships or other forms. Can Germany make this initial payment?

She has spent twice as much on the war every year during the conflict and raised much more annually during that time in war loans. In peacetime Germany spent \$500,000,000 a year on her army and navy. She has approximately \$500,000,000 in gold today. This will not go far, but it is estimated that Germany holds close to \$5,000,000,000 in foreign securities, which may be exchanged as Great Britain exchanged her foreign securities, for government obligations, leaving the foreign securities to be used to meet international obligations. But Germany will not need so much. She has ships, certain goods and other things which can be used to meet this initial demand. There should be no question of the rest of the amount, which is to be distributed over thirty years and will bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

Germany will next protest most energetically against being forced to give up territory, and President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" will be invoked. An effort will be made to show that these have been violated by the treaty demands. Germany's greatest loss of territory, exclusive of her colonial possessions, will be to the Poles. It cannot be truthfully said that this violates the Fourteen Points or the Wilson principles. The President demanded an independent Poland, to

German Protestations and Facts

Germany is now engaged in a spasm of wailing and gnashing of teeth over the peace terms. They are simply awful. Germany is reduced to slavery; Bolshevism and anarchy are preferable to such conditions. The terms are impossible and cannot be met. Every form of invective is employed by spokesmen of all parties to denounce the treatment accorded the defeated by the victors. So much was to be ex-

pected. Out of it all will come certain definite representations to be made to the Allied Powers by the German delegates in petitioning for modifications of the terms. Just what are the facts concerning these protestations and conditions laid down by the Allies?

Most important, perhaps, will be a protest against the financial terms. It will be contended that Germany cannot pay the sums demanded. So far the

include all Polish populations, with free access to the sea.

This last could only be through Danzig, but Danzig is not to be given to the Poles, and in doubtful districts the desires of the inhabitants are to be determined by plebiscites. Next in importance is the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, clearly agreed to by Germany in signing the armistice. There remain the Saar Valley and Schleswig. The former is to be internationalized for a term of years and the product will not be a loss to Germany, since it will cut down the bill for reparation. Plebiscites for Schleswig clearly conform to the principle of self-determination of peoples and will right a wrong of long standing.

It will nevertheless be contended that this loss of territory will weaken Germany and make it impossible for her to bear the financial load. France should be allowed to answer this plea by pointing out that France has borne the financial and economic burden of five years of war with more of her territory in German hands, including her richest industrial districts, while the territory taken from Germany will not seriously cripple German industry.

Loss of colonies will also be contested on the ground that this will weaken Germany and that the Fourteen Points are thereby violated. It should be possible to show by pre-war German figures that the German colonies were more of a liability than an asset. The mandatory system is as yet an unknown quantity, but it is at least an effort to settle the colonial problem in a manner at once more just and equitable than giving these territories over absolutely to the different nations, as in the past.

There will be no return to the heartless exploitation of natives and there is nothing in the Peace Treaty that precludes the possibility of Germany at some future time becoming the mandatory for backward countries on equal terms with other Powers. Germany is bound to make the most of the charge of European radicals that the Allies are imperialistic, but a careful reading of the labor convention and the labor clauses that are a part of the treaty and the League of Nations Covenant should convince anyone that the days of commercial imperialism, in the ordinary sense, are over.

Germany will also feel keenly the military and naval restrictions, but no argument should lessen them. The world is determined to put down mil-

itarism, and the utter wiping out of it in Germany is the best starting point. Germany is rendered impotent in a military way and the burden of paying for the damages inflicted by her in this war is heavy, but it is not unjust

and it is not intolerable. Germany, despite her protests, can comply with the Allied terms without ruining herself. The terms are hard, but no amount of whining should induce the Allies to modify them.

GERMANY IS SHORN OF NAVAL POWER BY PEACE TREATY

By C. C. BRAINERD, Washington Correspondent of The Eagle.

Germany will never have another navy. The naval chapter in the peace treaty would not have been more drastic if it had been written in five words — "Germany's navy is hereby abolished." That is exactly what the chapter means. To permit Germany to keep six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and no submarines, and to forbid her to have any naval seaplanes and dirigibles is equivalent to saying Germany shall have no navy whatever. Not only is the biggest part of the German navy now in the hands of the Allies, but she will not be permitted to keep very much of what still remains in her possession.

From the second naval power in the world to a status equivalent to that of some Central American republic gives an idea of what is happening to Germany. The six small battleships which are allowed Germany are a grim joke. The treaty says that none of them shall be larger than 10,000 tons. There is no ship of that size in the world that is any longer recognized as a real battleship. The 10,000-tonners were obsolete long ago. The old battleship Oregon, in her prime twenty years ago, has a tonnage of 10,288. The Oregon is so useless for war purposes that the Navy is planning to send her back to the Pacific Coast and let her spend her remaining days as a patriotic exhibit in one of the ports of the State for which she is named. Yet if Germany owned the Oregon she would not be allowed to keep her, because the Oregon exceeds the size limit for German battleships of the future.

Dozen Navies Could Whip Germany's.

With the German navy pared down to the proportions fixed in the treaty, there are a dozen navies that could whip it. Argentina, Brazil and Chile would all be able to sink the new German navy. Those navies own battleships running from 19,000 to 32,000 tons. Spain owns bigger battleships than Germany will be allowed to keep. Italy, which has never been considered one of the great naval powers, would simply overwhelm Germany.

Such battleships as Germany will be permitted to have are, of course, ancient craft, quite incapable of doing serious harm to a modern ship. They will be of the Brandenburg or Worth

class, something less than 10,000 tons, with low speed, old-fashioned armament and inferior armor. They were built even before the Oregon. The other day at Brooklyn the United States launched a battleship of over 32,000 tons, a vessel that could meet the whole German navy and laugh at it.

There is another provision in the naval chapter of the treaty that is as ironic as that limiting the tonnage and number of the battleships. Except in case of a battleship that is lost, Germany will not be allowed to replace one of her decrepit battleships before the end of twenty years. That means simply this: She starts with battleships that are already about twenty years out of date and must keep them for twenty years more.

If Germany should elect to keep the Brandenburg, for instance, provided that vessel is still in existence, she would in the year 1931, which is twenty years from now, be the proud possessor of a battleship forty-nine years old. The keel of the Brandenburg was laid in 1890. Her tonnage, 9,874, just gets within the limit imposed by the treaty. There is no such thing as a new battleship of 10,000 tons or less; ships of that size ceased to be built years ago.

No New Destroyers for 15 Years.

Destroyers, as all naval men know, are more perishable than battleships. They change more rapidly and require more frequent replacement. Yet none of the twelve destroyers that Germany will be allowed to keep may be replaced under fifteen years. By that time such destroyers as she now owns will be ready for the scrap heap, unless Germany should haul them ashore and put them carefully away in cotton.

The provision that Germany may maintain no naval air forces would in itself be sufficient to render her navy almost impotent, even if she were allowed to retain her ships. More and more the modern navies of the world are depending upon aircraft, not only in the scouting work of their fleets, but for offensive and defensive purposes. Planes and dirigibles are becoming the eyes of navies, just as they are of armies. The treaty puts out Germany's eyes. With no planes and no submarines, even a big German navy with modern ships would not dare to venture out to battle against a well-equipped fleet. To think of the future German navy going into battle is beyond the imaginative stretch of any naval officer. There is no German navy.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE ABLY ADJUSTED BRING JUST PUNISHMENT TO GERMANY

By FREDERICK BOYD STEVENSON

PERHAPS we are too close to the terms of the Peace Treaty, too close to realize the magnitude of the punishment that has come to Germany and the Germans. In the years to follow we may read in the histories the conclusion of the greatest war ever recorded in history and then we and others who come after us will fully visualize what the Germans essayed and balance it with what they attained.

How many of us realize what we escaped?

What if Germany had won the war?

No imagination is so vivid that it can depict the unnamed horrors, the unbroken years of serfdom which would have befallen all inhabitants of the world who were not Germans.

What Germany would have profited if she had gained the whole world and lost her own soul is a thought that did not enter into Germanic philosophy while the Germanic lust for conquest blunted all finer feelings and dulled all sense of justice.

How many of us, then, not realizing what we escaped, can sense the realization by the Germans of their colossal failure and what it means to them?

How many of us can understand the agony of the Germans who, having lost the whole world, also lose their own territory, must stagger for half a century under a debt imposed upon them as criminals and in the centuries to come walk the earth with the contempt of all honest peoples still unabated?

Leaving out all suggestion of Germanic conscience; leaving out all suggestion of lost Germanic souls, the punishment to Germany and the German people falls heavier upon it as a nation and upon them as individuals than any punishment meted out by victors upon a defeated foe.

Germany's punishment is great. But Germany's crimes were greater.

An Outline of Murders And Damages Committed By the Germans.

One need not be a statistician nor a war-damage specialist to get a clear general view of the Germans' attempt to wreck Europe. One need not be a pessimistic prophet nor a gong-sounding alarmist to foresee what wreckage

would have taken place in America after the Germans had finished their job in Europe.

Just a cursory glance at the high spots in Germanic destruction will bring out the outlines of the enormity of the wanton Germanic crimes. If one go further into the details the sum total of world wreckage will be appalling. If these details were printed in full this issue of The Brooklyn Eagle today would not be extensive enough, with all news, special features, advertisements and other matter eliminated, to contain them.

But the bare outlines will suffice.

Eight million men, women and children met death as a direct result of the German attack on humanity, the most striking collective examples of which were more than 1,000,000 killed by the Turks in Armenia and more than 200,000 unarmed black men, women and children wantonly murdered by the Germans in Africa, which they were planning to use in their next war for world conquest.

Vast tracts of territory in France, in Belgium, in Serbia, in Rumania, in Italy and in Russia were laid waste by the Germans.

Factory after factory in France and Belgium were stripped of their machinery, which was taken into Germany for the double purpose of adding to Germany's industrial output and rendering impotent the industrial output of rival countries.

Bank after bank was robbed.

Palace after palace was denuded of its furnishings.

Tapestries were torn from walls.

Private funds and jewels were taken from citizens.

Art galleries were looted.

The plainest of furniture was carted away from cottages.

Food was stolen from storehouses and private homes.

Clothing and coal and seed were shipped from the invaded countries into Germany.

Trees were cut down, destroying the fruit yield for years to come.

Millions and millions of innocent peoples—in Europe, Asia, Africa and America—are today paying by high prices and high taxation and by voluntary subscriptions the cost of the German holiday.

It has been estimated that the actual cost of the war to the Allies was \$155,000,000,000. If we add the cost to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, estimated at \$71,000,000,000, we have the astounding total of \$226,000,000,000. Two hundred billion dollars is a low estimate of the cost to re-adjust the business of the world, and this vast sum added to the actual expenditures brings the entire cost of the war to \$426,000,000,000.

The sum is so immense one cannot grasp it, and in comparison the indemnity placed upon Germany, based upon Germany's capability to pay, seems trivial.

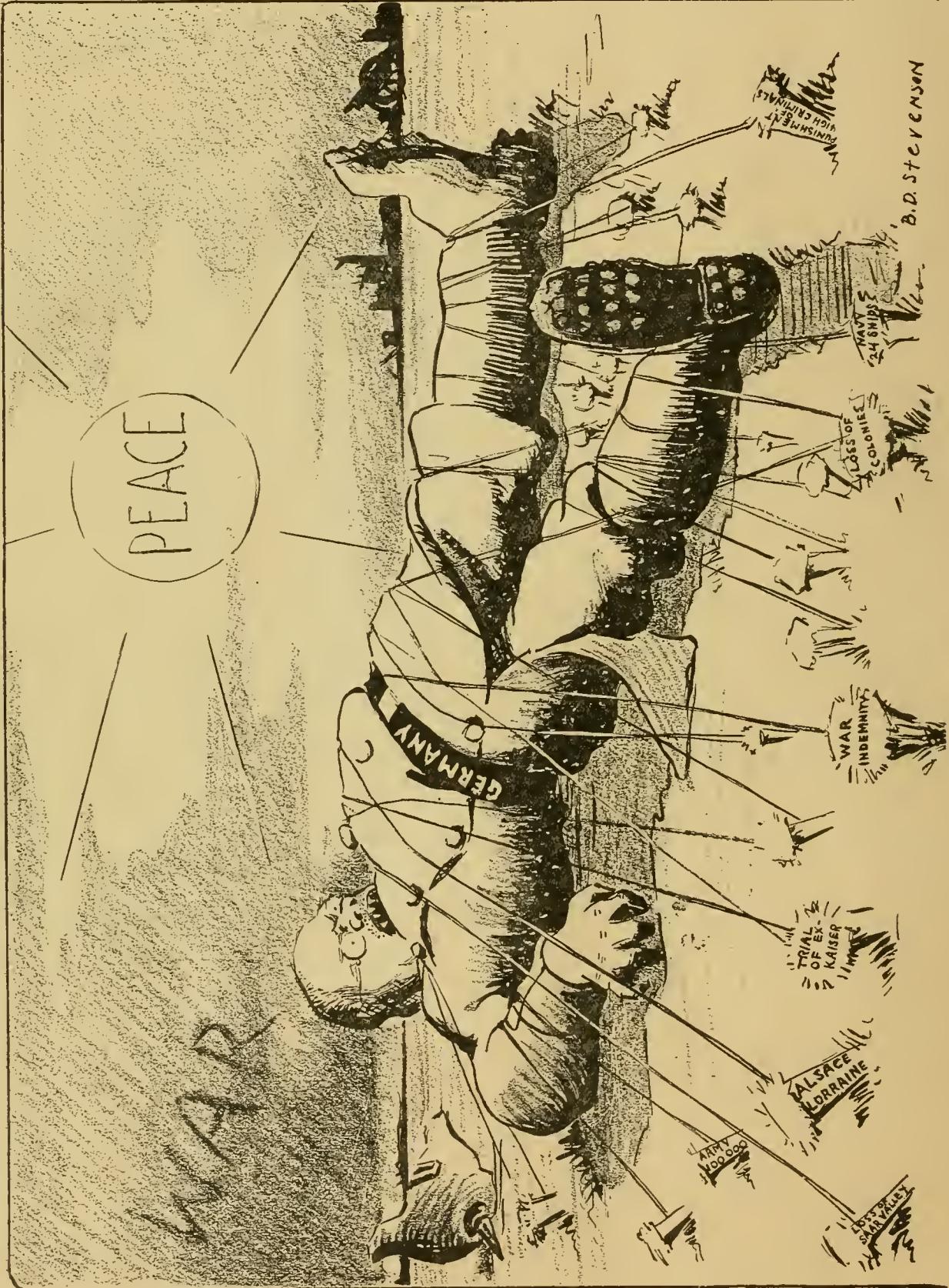
Great Problems Solved And Grand Work Done By the Peace Conference.

Now, this brief summary of the crime gives one a basic view of the power of the enemy capable of committing it. Thus one may see the difficulties confronting the body of men comprising the Peace Conference, one of whose tasks was to find a punishment which would fit the crime, and at the same time fit the punishment to the law and the justice of civilization.

These difficulties were augmented by readjustments of many countries so that all should be satisfied, so far as possible, with the changes in the map of the world. An idea of the extent of these difficulties will be obtained when one remembers that, with very few exceptions, every country in Europe was, to a more or less degree, engaged in the war, and that every country in Asia—excepting Afghanistan and Tibet—has been affected by the war. One may broaden out this idea by recalling that there is not a square mile in Africa which, in one way or another, has not taken part in war activities. Nearly all the nations in the Americas were in the war, and from the far distant islands of the Southern Seas there were thousands and hundreds of thousands of men who lined up in the front ranks as fighters.

One striking result of the hostilities has been the creation of ten new States with new boundaries to be cast.

THE MODERN GULLIVER



Altogether the boundaries of fourteen countries had to be recast.

Then there were problems of commerce and trade and railways and international waterways.

Here were a multitude of nations—a jumble of nationalities, the littlest of which were the most insistent for the fulfillment of supposed rights and the most unsophisticated of whom were the strongest for new advantages. Nearly all these nations—big and little—had their own problems. Nearly all the peoples of the nations looked only from their own viewpoints.

And all these readjustments—all these problems—were smoothed out. They were not smoothed out in a day nor a week nor a month. They required the careful attention of the greatest brains at that Peace Table. And the men who sat at the Peace Table did not spare themselves. They worked at high speed day and night.

Never before has a peace conference approached this Peace Conference in the magnitude of the tasks to be accomplished. The Congress of Vienna is the nearest approach to it, for it settled the affairs of Europe. It took the members of that Congress eleven months to complete their duties. But the problems at Vienna in no manner compares with the vast problems of the whole world which were before the Peace Conference of the Allies and their associates, comprising twenty-seven nations. And the present Peace Conference prepared the Peace Treaty in fifteen weeks.

Some of us were critical. Some of us even grumbled. Some of us openly found fault. Now we have the results before us.

Let us take off our hats to our Peace Commissioners.

Why Peace Conference Kept the Details of Punishment Secret.

Fixing the punishment on Germany as a nation was one of the greatest tasks. France and Belgium and many of us in this country wanted to have this indemnity placed at figures so high that Germany could not possibly pay her dues in a century or more. On the other hand there were apologists for Germany and German sympathizers and Germans posing as Americans, acting as German propagandists who were always trying to soften the blow for Germany.

But with all the contending elements in all parts of the world—the one side expressing the fear that the Germans would be let off too easily, and the other side voicing the apprehension that the Germans would be taxed too

high—the Peace Conference went on the even tenor of its way.

Then came the news.

Germany was hit hard in the matter of indemnity. The figure of actual indemnity is higher than even some of us who wanted the amount to be pushed to the limit dared hope for. It is nearly as high as some of the members of the French Commission who came to this country indicated to me it should be. Added to it is the heavy indemnity for Austria. And along with these indemnities are the losses in territory to Germany and Austria, greatly increasing the monetary and material punishment to both countries.

Germany is bound hand and foot, even as the fabulous Gulliver was bound, only the act of binding was not done by pygmies, but by giants who were merely sleeping, and who awoke in time to render the big hulky powerless.

Then came the news of the determination of the Allies to try the former Kaiser as the chief criminal responsible for the war. He cannot escape trial. If found guilty he cannot escape punishment.

All this news came to us as a surprise. For those who were working for easy terms for Germany and the former Kaiser it was a bitter surprise. For those of us who were looking for justice it came as a vindication of the

men who gave their lives that the German Thing might be crushed.

The members of the Peace Conference kept their secrets well. There were ample reasons why the details of the proceedings should be kept a secret. One of these reasons is that it was deemed not advisable to make public the terms of the Peace Treaty until they were ready for presentation to the Germans. Had it been otherwise some newspapers in the Allied countries and some public men in the Allied countries might have considered the terms too severe and the printed articles and the speeches in opposition to them would have been spread all over Germany in preference to articles and speeches favoring the terms, with the result that the German people would have believed that the Allies were divided and would thereby have stiffened in their resistance.

So the surprises came and the course taken can be regarded as the wise course.

Other Problems Awaiting Solution; Among Them The Russian Problem.

There are other problems yet to be solved. Among them is the great Russian problem. There have been numerous suggestions by experts, by lay-

WHAT GERMANY HAS LOST

Indemnity (par value of the mark).....\$23,800,000,000
LOSSES IN EUROPE.

	Sq. Miles	Population
Alsace-Lorraine, to France.....	5,680	1,874,014
Saar Coal Basin, to League of Nations.....	738	234,200
Schleswig, to Denmark.....	2,787	693,984
Posen and part of Silesia, to Poland (including port of Danzig).....	28,412	8,440,379
Malmedy, to Belgium.....	382	119,184
 Total in Europe.....	37,999	11,361,761
 Before the War.....	208,825	64,925,993
After the War.....	170,826	53,564,232

LOSS OF COLONIES.

	Sq. Miles	Population
Togoland	33,668	1,003,612
Kamerun	305,019	3,501,537
German Southwest Africa.....	322,432	102,586
German East Africa.....	384,170	7,515,666
New Guinea (exclusive of the Ladron Islands).....	92,244	545,478
Caroline Islands	560	39,000
Marshall Islands	158	16,000
Ladron Islands	420	10,000
German Samoan Islands.....	993	37,980
Kiao Chau (China).....	213	196,470
 Total of Colonies.....	1,139,877	12,968,329
 Grand Total	1,177,876	24,330,090

men and by mere novices as to the solution.

"Send the Allied troops into Russia and blow the Bolsheviks off the face of the earth!" cries one.

"Make peace with the Reds and have them one of us!" insists another.

"Let them stew in their own juice!" says a third.

In the meantime the problems of Russia still prevail.

To begin with, there is no Russia. The Don region, the Caucasus and Siberia have broken away from Russia. To be sure, there is an organization which for the time being is controlling Central Russia. It has a pretended government, which at best is only an experiment and which at worst is anarchy. As for the remainder of Russia, there is no government at all.

Now how can the Allies recognize a government in Russia in general when there is no general Russian Government?

And how can the Allies recognize the Bolshevik government in Central Russia as a *de facto* government when it is not a *de facto* government?

And last, but not least, how can the Allies recognize any government in any part of Russia when there is none—*de facto* or otherwise?

As a matter of fact, there is no question of recognizing any government in Russia. That question has never been discussed in the Peace Conference.

Well, what about military intervention?

Here arise questions to which the average layman has never given thought. Russia might be Bolshevik, Menshevist, Republican or Czarist. It rests entirely with the Russian people what sort of government they establish. A foreign Power has no more right to invade Russia and dictate to the Russian people the sort of government they shall have than Great Britain or France had a right to invade this country and decide either in favor of the Confederates or the Federalists at the time of our Civil War.

Then there is this point: The invasion of Russia is one thing; the conquest of Russia is another thing. The Germans found it quite easy to get into Russia, but they found it a very difficult matter to get out of Russia.

Supposing the Allies actually conquered Russia—their one-time strong ally—what sort of a government would they set up and on whose authority?

The Big Thing Is to Keep the Problems Of the World Settled.

All problems will be settled in due time.

The big thing is to keep them settled. All the world should profit by the terrible experience of the last five years. Another such experience would practically mean the end of civilization. It will take fifty years for the world to recover from the shell shock given to it by the Germans. Perhaps it will not have recovered then. The lives lost—the lost future generations unborn—can never be a part of the progress of this earth.

But what is gone is gone. The past cannot be recalled. A destiny once

worked out is ended forever. But man can shape the destinies of the world—to a great measure—by his wisdom, his justice and his energy.

Let this wisdom, this justice, this energy so well begun be continued. You may call it a League of Nations, if you like; you may call it an alliance, if you please—but whatever you call it, let it be builded upon faith, let it be builded in the hope of a future reaching far beyond this world and let it be builded on the laws of man founded on the laws of God.

Dr. Egan on Peace Psychology

By DR. MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN, Former U. S. Minister to Denmark.

The recent news from Paris makes us feel that it would be well to understand somewhat of the psychology of all the parties gathered together in this momentous meeting—even more momentous than that wretched Congress at Vienna which brought such intolerable evils on Europe and the world.

The fact that Germany is represented by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau shows that she is not in process of disintegration and that the extreme Radical party has not the great potency it was supposed to have in the beginning. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau represents the best brains of Germany. He was never sympathetic with the military party, and, though most devout of German patriots, he always feared—though he did not believe—that the United States might be driven into the war. If the tone of the German delegation were molded by a less able man, a man less conservative and less acute, the situation might be different; but Count Brockdorff-Rantzau is not at Paris to accept terms humbly, but rather as a diplomatist who has determined to make the best out of a position which seems almost hopeless for his country. He knows very well that it is a maxim in diplomacy, to put it into a phrase sometimes used in describing Ireland, "That the impossible always happens and the inevitable never."

Now, to most Americans it seems impossible that Germany dare to make any claims or to insist that the rigors of justice shall be tolerantly softened for her; but Count Rantzau, representing the most important among the German people—the "great" among the employers and the "great" among the employees—intends that the impossible shall happen, and that the inevitable—which would be the wreaking of a full punishment on the nation that united so solidly in supporting the imperialistic regime—shall not happen.

The attitude of the Italian Government, to which the majority of the Italian people have adhered, though not so cordially as the reception of D'Annunzio's speech might lead us to believe, has strengthened the delusion among the Germans that the Allies prefer the conservation of their own interests to the reduction of Germany to powerlessness. The Chancelleries of Europe have never accepted President Wilson's fourteen propositions and their interpretations with anything approaching to enthusiasm.

The moment they were announced nearly every diplomatist said: "But, what of our treaties?" This alarm included fear for all treaties, including those that were secret. The consensus of opinion was that a treaty was no less binding because it had been made secretly. The secret arrangement among certain Powers to keep the representatives of the Pope from the Peace Conference—an arrangement made public by the new government of Russia just after the downfall of the Czar—was one in question; but the Catholics of the world, interested in the independence of the Pope, though not at all interested in his restoration to the full temporal power he possessed before the French Revolution, took no notice of this, in order not to embarrass the Allies. There were other understandings just as secret and these the veteran diplomats, not touched by American altruism, held as sacred in the interest of expediency as if they were the Holy Ark itself.

Italy Aspires to Greatness.

The explanation of the attitude of Italy—an attitude which her diplomats, the most astute in the world in some respects, may soften—is due to the fact that she determined to be a great Power. She feels that, having found the most unexpected opportunity, she has the great chance of becoming equal to France and England, in a certain sense her commercial and territorial rivals. We who know Mr. Wilson, who understand his indomitable idealism, who can see that he joins the firmness of the old Covenanter to the steadfastness of a mind determined that the world shall not be wrecked again by the horrors brought about through the Balance of Power—pay no attention to the whispers of discontent among the European nations, of which Lord Northcliffe, according to Lloyd-George, made too much.

The Italians of the old school do not hesitate to say that the reason why Fiume was refused to them was that England and France might practically control that port. The Jugoslavs, on the other hand, feel that to put Fiume into Italian hands might throw it at some future time under German control, and the Slavs insist that the beginning of the war was really the moment when Austria refused an outlet for Hungarian swine.

Mr. Wilson was adored in Italy by the people at large until he was apparently put in the place of refusing them the opportunity to control the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, as Great Britain controls the Atlantic.

The Jugoslavs in their hearts believe that Germany will regain commercially and economically her power in Italy. Some of the Italians rather confirm this by their assertion, which is almost a threat; one finds it in conversations and in the Italian papers, not always plainly expressed, "If the United States turns against us we must look to a reconstructed Germany." A letter recently received from the ex-vice governor of Fiume complains very bitterly that if Mr. Wilson's plans are not misinterpreted at the Peace Conference Hungary will not be dismembered. Hungary is saying very little for herself, since, more thin-skinned than Germans, she is ashamed of a war into which she entered without any great enthusiasm. But the publication of the terms of the Peace Treaty which was handed to the German delegates on Wednesday, so dazzling, so sweeping, and so beyond the dreams of the defenders of the balance of power, has for a moment forced the malcontents to be silent. Even the critics of the League of Nations must admit that such a plan as this would have seemed five years ago to be the iridescent vision of an exalted dreamer.

France Gets More Than Expected.

France has gained more than she ever expected, though the clause pledging the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England to present to the legislative bodies of their respective countries a proposition to unite in defending France should she ever be unjustly attacked by Germany is sure to excite much more opposition in this country than in England. England went into the war, not to preserve the rights of Belgium, but because she saw at once that to Prussianize Antwerp was to open her coast to attack. She might have learned this lesson earlier, in 1870, for example, but the government of England learned many lessons too late; for instance, the foolishness of the cession of Heligoland to Germany, that "trouser button" which the Emperor William said during the late war held the German Empire together. There is one sure thing which this war has emphasized—that the interests of England and France must in the future be identical. Count Rantzau would not be at all adverse to a union between England and Germany, and this union by a strange kink in Germany psychology is not looked on now as impossible. It is one of the impossibilities which he, no doubt, thinks may be made possible. During the early part of 1917, before we went into the war and when I was closely in contact with German opinion, it was no unusual thing to hear from the Foreign Office that when England came to her senses she might make herself impregnable by uniting with Germany. "If we, the Central Powers, control the land and England controls the sea, we shall, of course, take the Mediterranean and Adriatic

from Italy—we could rule the world." And this illusion is not so rare as it might seem, and all future diplomatic intrigues have not yet been killed by the triumph of American altruism. It will hardly be believed, but if one recalls the impression one received from certain English journals and from certain English students of foreign affairs when the power of Germany seemed for a time to be impregnable, such a union was not deemed as altogether out of the question. Germany was not discovered by England until a long time after Lord Morley had resigned from the Cabinet and Lord Haldane been discredited.

Saar Basin Must Go to France.

A tremendous gain for France is the creation of a Commission to govern the Saar Basin pending a plebiscite 15 years hence. It is quite plain what this means; the Saar Basin, so necessary to France, must become French, a clause which will make northern Europe breathe more freely is that the Kiel Canal must be open to all nations. Without this Denmark would find the restoration of her despoiled territory a new burden and a terrible danger; without this Finland and Sweden would have new causes for alarm, and even Norway would find her strength for resistance to invasion and the power of helping her sister Scandinavian countries greatly reduced. The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine was a foregone conclusion, and also was the demolition of the forts on Heligoland, but that such a potent movement toward the formation of a United States of Europe, each state preserving its independence but ceding a part of its sovereignty, must stun the shades of Talleyrand and Metternich wherever they are dwelling.

The Congress of Vienna and the later Congress of Berlin are now as dead as the mastodon or any other pre-diluvian monster; but it does not follow that, when this tremendous change has taken place, there will not be wars or rumors of wars. Compromises have been made, in spite of the steel-like attitude of the President, so contrary to all the old traditions of diplomacy, and these compromises may bring about as much evil in the future as the compromise in the matter of slavery permitted in our League of Nations in 1787 wrought in the Civil War and its following disasters.

Orlando and Sonnino have lost nothing of the cunning of their predecessors of the Renaissance. Nobody credits them with altruism; they are Italian patriots first and foremost, and all Italy applauds them for this. Italy was never for a moment interested in the question as to whether Germany should be democratic or not; an autocracy with its claws cut, so that it might not attack the Adriatic or the Mediterranean, was really less dangerous than the pretensions of an assumedly democratic England or France. This has been made plain in Orlando's demand, which ended,

for a moment at least, in the real apportion of a United Italy.

There are questions in the Balkans which are not yet fully answered,—the possession of Macedonia, for instance,—and certain demands which both the Greeks and the Bulgarians are rather certain to make. These have not yet been cleared up; and if anybody imagines that it is possible to clear them up with a merely noble gesture, he has no conception of the overpowering difficulties which would have weighed down any man less steadfast than President Wilson.

League of Nations Not Yet Perfect.

As in our League of Nations, which was formed in Philadelphia in 1787, the combination is by no means perfect; and local questions are much more burning than they were when the interests of Massachusetts were confronted with those of Georgia and the Carolinas. Criticism simply becomes bromidic when it asserts that the League of Nations will not at once prevent the recurrence of wars; but the League has this in its favor, that it is constructed at a time when the most belligerent nations are sick of wars,—more sick than even France was after Napoleon, with his dreams unfulfilled, had only changed the map of Europe for the worse.

If the Kaiser and the German nation,—both inseparable and both equally deserving of punishment, gave religion to France, an army to England and temperance in drink to Russia,—a result which, however, had not entirely corroborated the claims of the Prohibitionists for law and order,—he has also crept into Europe ideas not hitherto understood at all, similar in a vague way to those which actuated Washington and Jefferson and James Madison and the rest of "the demigods" when they formed the Constitution of the United States.

Students of foreign affairs in America must not draw hasty conclusions, for hasty conclusions always lead to destructive criticism, and we shall have enough difficulty in re-constructing our own mental attitude and our own understanding of a condition which removes us many, many lengths from the ideas that in the time of George Washington seemed so radical and experimental to conservative England and even to France, which had begun to feel that the tyranny of a misunderstood feudalism, poisoned with the ideas of the Renaissance, was unendurable.

If we Americans are to decide the future of our land intelligently, if we are not to be like dumb, driven cattle, we must patiently study the trend of European politics and not be misled by partisan ideas which are largely traditional. We can no longer argue as to the right or wrong of our entering into European entanglements; we are in, probably for good, and patience and concentration and a fair allowance for the good intention of our elected leaders must force us at the same time to concentrate our minds and to broaden our ideas.

REVISED TEXT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT

Parenthetical Insertions Show Changes in Original Draft.

Below is printed the full text of the revised draft of the covenant of the League of Nations, presented to the plenary session of the Peace Conference in Paris April 28, 1919, with parenthetical insertions showing the changes made:

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

(In the original preamble the last sentence read, "adopt this constitution," instead of "agree to this covenant.")

Article I—The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

(This article is new, embodying with alterations and additions the old Article VII. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members and adds the entirely new paragraph providing for withdrawal from the League. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.)

Article II. The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

(Originally this was a part of Article I. It gives the name assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the League, formerly referred to merely as "the body of delegates.")

Article III. The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within sphere of action of the League of affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly, each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

(This embodies parts of the original Article one, two and three with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the League" where the term "high contracting parties" originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.)

Article IV. The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to act as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters especially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the council, each member of the League represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

(This embodies that part of the original article Three designating the original members of the council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the council is new.)

Article V. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

(The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both Assembly and Council except where otherwise provided is new. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Article Four.)

Article VI—The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise a secretariat general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first secretary general shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the secretary general shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general with the approval of the Council.

The secretary general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

This replaces the original Article V. In the original the appointment of the first secretary general was left to the Council, and approval of the majority of the Assembly was not required for subsequent appointments.)

Article VII—The seat of the league is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league when engaged on the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

(Embodying parts of the old Articles V and VI, this article names Geneva instead of leaving the seat of the league to be chosen later and adds the provision for changing the seat in the future. The paragraph opening positions to women equally with men is new.)

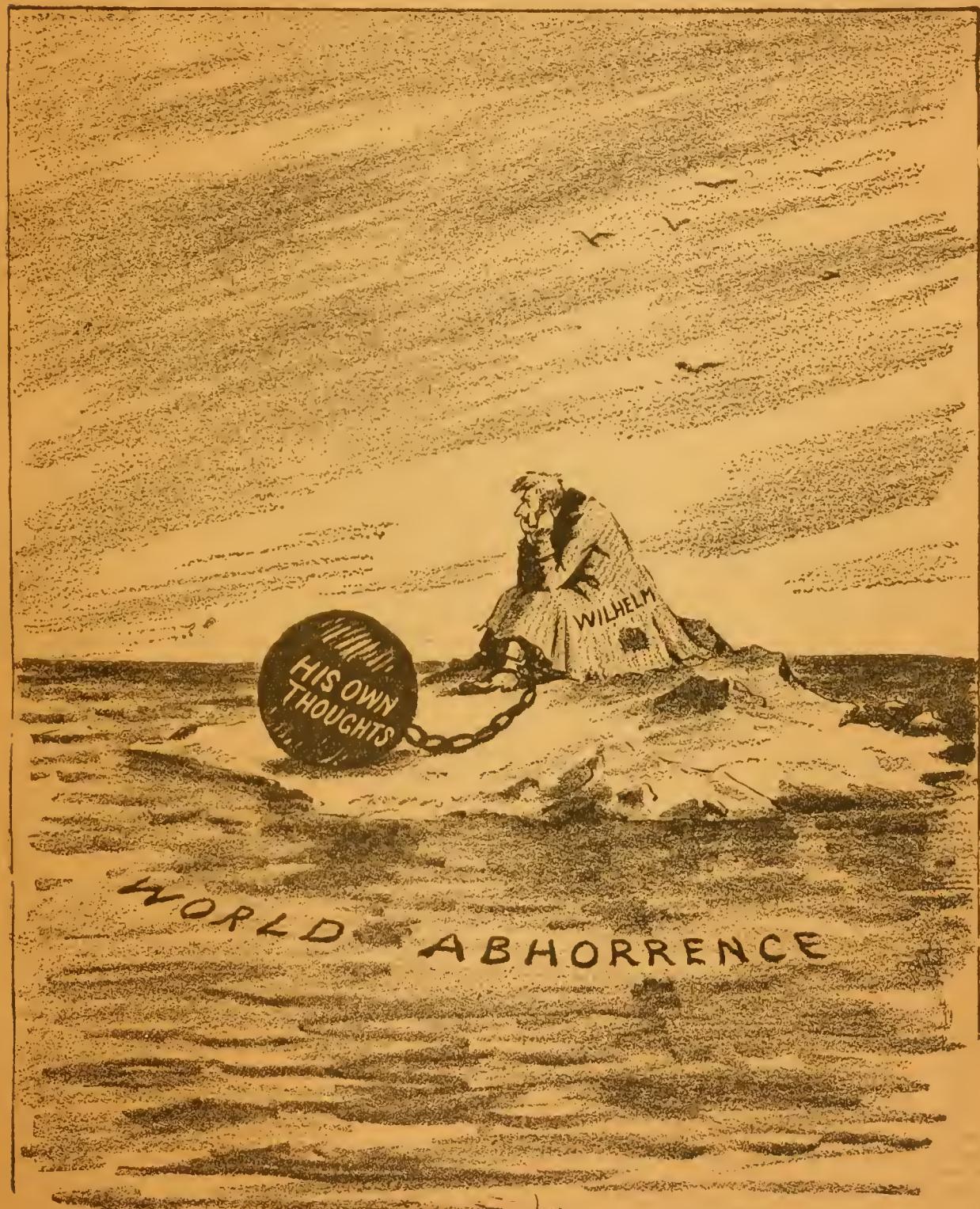
Article VIII—The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, limits of armaments therein fixed

FOR LIFE



Alson Harding

shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

(This covers the ground of the original Article 8, but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by the nations affected before they become effective.)

Article 9—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

(Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "Article I.")

Article 10—The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

(Virtually unchanged.)

Article 11—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary-general shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

(In the original it was provided that the "high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action," etc., where the revised draft reads "The League shall take any action.")

Article XII—The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

(Virtually unchanged except that some provisions of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.)

Article XIII—The members of the

League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed upon by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

(Only Minor Changes in Language.)

Article XIV—The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

(Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.)

Article XV—If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute, terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any members of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of

the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law, is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article Twelve relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

(The paragraph specifically excluding matters of "domestic jurisdiction" from action by the Council is new. In the last sentence, the words "if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council," etc., have been added.)

Article 16—Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles Twelve, Thirteen or Fifteen, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the members of the League represented thereon.

(Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.)

Article 17—In the event of a dispute

between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles Twelve to Sixteen, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given, the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article Sixteen shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

(Virtually unchanged.)

Article XVIII—Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

(Same as original Article XXIII.)

Article XIX—The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

(Virtually the same as original Article XXIV.)

Article XX—The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case members of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

(Virtually the same as original Article XXV.)

Article XXI—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

(Entirely new.)

Article XXII—To these colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the

principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reasons of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience of religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the nations for other than police purposes and the defense of territory and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

(This is the original Article 19, virtually unchanged, except for the insertion of the words "and who are willing to accept," in describing nations to be given mandatories.)

ARTICLE 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women

and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will trust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

(This replaces the original Article 21, and embodies parts of the original Articles 18 and 21. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses (b) and (c).)

ARTICLE 24.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expense of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

(Same as Article 22 in the original, with the matter after the first two sentences added.)

ARTICLE 25.

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

(Entirely new.)

ARTICLE 26.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

Such amendment shall (the word NOT apparently omitted in cable transmission) bind any members of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

(Same as the original, except that

a majority of the League instead of three-fourths is required for ratification of amendments, with the last sentence added.)

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

One—Original members of the League of Nations.

Signatories of the Treaty of Peace. United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant:

Argentina, Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

Two—First Secretary-General of the League of Nations (blank).

(The annex was not published with the original draft of the Covenant.)

NOTHING IN LEAGUE THAT INFRINGES ON UNITED STATES

By THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States.

Before the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

With those who are opposed to any League of Nations, no difference what the terms of its covenant may be, I have no controversy nor would I dare to charge them with impure and unpatriotic motives. Much that they say about the ancient glory of the Republic appeals to me, both historically and racially. If among the hundred millions of people who now dwell under the supposedly protective folds of the American flag there be aside from the Indian such a person, racially speaking, as an American citizen, then I am he. On both sides of my house there does not course in our veins a single drop of blood which was not coursing in the veins of some men or some women here in this Western continent when Bunker Hill became the highest peak in political geography.

If mere selfishness were to guide my conduct, I would be one of the first to raise the cry, "America for Americans." I am one of the bare half million of like lineage now living in this land. My blood having fought its way out of English domination under George III could never contemplate skulking back as a Prodigal Son under George V, and regardless of that sense of loyalty and that personal devotion which I bear to my chief, I would be a last-ditch man in the maintenance of American institutions if I thought or could be convinced that the proposed League of Nations was to make of America a mere appendage of the British Crown. I am, however, convinced that there is a vast deal of difference between going back a Prodigal Son and going back, as I believe, not as a weakling but as a controlling partner in a great movement looking toward the peace of the world.

In the revised draft, the Monroe Doctrine has been taken care of, Agitation concerning it was a "temptation in a trap." There were two concussions drawn from the Monroe Doctrine, one of which was good for the American people and the other of which was bad. The conclusion that it was the doctrine of self-defense against the aggression of European nations on the western shore was good, but the doctrine conferring a

lordship or guardianship of our sister republics to the south was distinctly bad. It wounded the pride of these republics and instead of drawing them toward America it furnished reason for them to listen to the insidious wiles of European diplomacy. When all men pledge their honor to maintaining the integrity of the American Republic, it is hardly needful for the United States to assume for itself the discharge of that duty.

This is not a question of what you and I wish were; it is a question of what is and what we are going to do about it. Theoretically, I would quarantine against yellow fever, but if I found the epidemic raging in America I would not rely upon the quarantine—I should treat the disease.

The League Stripped of Verbiage.

Stripped of explanatory verbiage and clarified as to non-legal phrases the objects of the proposed League are to prevent war, promote peace, reduce armaments, control the sale of munitions, abrogate secret treaties, preserve territorial integrity from external aggression and to help weak and struggling peoples toward the maintenance of democracies.

To attain these objects all disputes which the parties recognize as suitable and which are unsettled by diplomacy shall be settled by arbitration and in time by a permanent court of international justice; nor will they go to war over any other dispute until after arbitration or recommendation upon the subject.

Enforcement of decrees is to be had by severing financial, commercial and personal relations with the offending State and by recommendation as to actual physical force to be employed.

In the event of disputes, non-member States are to be invited to obey the rules of the League which, if a dispute is with a member State, makes a refusal an act of war, but as between non-member States subjects them to such action as the Council shall deem necessary to avoid war.

Armament is to be fixed and not increased without permission and control of private manufacture of munitions and their sale is to be had.

Provision is made for the recording of all treaties before they shall become effective and the League's power is pledged to the preservation of territorial integrity from external aggression.

I omit the mandatory clause be-

cause it is clearly optional and not compulsory, and the labor clause as being simply advisory.

This is in substance the original draft. I have not had the time to compare it with the revised draft, but one serious objection which I had to the original has been entirely removed in the revised draft—namely, the right of a State to withdraw. This, I think, was necessary in accordance with the make-up of human nature. The 17th Century could not fix the political status of the 18th, nor can the 20th Century definitely fix the political status of the 21st. The addition was advisable, not on account of objection to the terms of the League but by reason of the inadvisability and impossibility of one generation definitely stating as to what the next must do.

No one has yet shown me that there is a single word or sentence in the proposed League that is in derogation of our Constitution or that infringes upon the rights of the Congress of the United States. If there were a definite clause that bound the Congress and the United States to guarantee by force of arms the territorial integrity of any people it might be a valid objection—yet this objection coming from those who, with bland countenances, voted to disregard our guarantee of the territorial rights of Colombia in the Panama Canal does not convince me that they are more patriotic than political in their character.

Statement of the ownership, management, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Eagle Library, published monthly except January, June and August, at Brooklyn, N. Y., for April 1, 1919.

State of New York, County of Kings, ss.: Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Herbert F. Gunnison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations.

That the names and addresses of the publisher and editor are:

Publisher, Herbert F. Gunnison; editor, Harry E. Shnelland, The Eagle Building, Brooklyn, N. Y. That the names and addresses of stockholders holding 1% or more of total amount of stock are:

William Hester, William V. Hester, Herbert F. Gunnison, William N. Dykman, Edgar M. Cullen, William Hester and William V. Hester, trustees for Natalie Hester Cleveland, Jennie Hester Stewart and Arthur W. Hester, Estate of St. Clair McElroy, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Frank A. Keeney, the Estate of William Ziegler, William Ziegler Jr., Mabuattan, N. Y.; Seth A. Keeney, Santa Barbara, Cal.; Los Angeles Trust and Savings Bank, Los Angeles, Cal.; Brooklyn Trust Company, trustee for the Estate of Thomas Kinsella, Hannah K. Pagelow and executor will Sarah D. Kingsley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Susan S. Brigham, Anna L. O'Neil, Cora M. O'Neil, Klingston, N. Y.; Anna K. Gunlindon, Stratton, Conn.; Angie Keeney Schwiegel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: NONE.

That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

HERBERT F. GUNNISON

Publiser.

Swear to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of April, 1919.

[Seal] JAMES J. FEENAN,

Notary Public, Kings County, N. Y.

My Commission expires March 30, 1921.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS LABOR COVENANT

The Commission on International Labor Legislation for the Peace Conference which drafted the following covenant for World Labor, was made up as follows:

United States—Samuel Gompers and E. N. Hurley; substitutes, H. M. Robinson and J. T. Shotwell.

British Empire—G. N. Barnes, M. P., and Sir Malcolm Delevlinge; substitute, H. B. Butler.

France—Mr. Colliard and Mr. Loucheur; substitutes, Arthur Fontaine and Leon Jouhaux.

Italy—Baron Mayor des Pianches and Mr. Cabrini; substitute, Mr. Coletti.

Japan—Ambassador Otchian and Mr. Oka.

Belgium—Mr. Vandervelde and Professor Mahaim; substitute, Senator La Fontaine.

Cuba—Professor de Bustamante; substitutes Raphael Martinez Ortiz and Mr. de Blanck.

Poland—Stanislas Patek; substitute, Francois Sokal.

Czechoslovak Republic—Rudolph Bro.

The following were appointed officers of the Commission:

President, Samuel Gompers; vice presidents, G. N. Barnes and Mr. Colliard; general secretary, Arthur Fontaine; assistant general secretary, H. B. Butler; secretaries, Baron Capelle (substitute, Count de Grunne), Belgium; di Palma, Castibone, Italy; Guy Oyster, U. S. A.; Mr. Yoshisaka, Japan.

Preamble

In a preamble to the articles of the draft convention the commission declares that:

Whereas, The League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And, whereas, Conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled, and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required, as, for example:

By the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week.

The regulation of the labor supply.

The prevention of unemployment.

The provision of an adequate living wage.

The protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment.

The protection of children, young persons and women; provision for old age and injury.

Protection of the interest of workers when employed in countries other than their own.

Recognition of the principle of freedom of association.

The organization of technical and vocational education and other measures.

And whereas also, The failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries—

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following convention:

Chapter 1—Organization

Article 1.

The high contracting parties, being the States members of the League of Nations, hereby decide to establish a permanent organization for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble, and for this purpose hereby accept the provisions contained in the following articles:

Article 2.

The permanent organization shall consist of a General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties and an International Labor Office, controlled by the governing body described in Article 7.

Article 3.

The meetings of the General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the high contracting parties, of whom two shall be government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing, respectively, the employers and the workpeople of each of the high contracting parties.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the Conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The high contracting parties undertake to nominate non-government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or work people, in their respective countries.

Each delegate may be accompanied at each sitting at the Conference by not more than two advisers. The advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany, and by the special authorization of the president of the Conference, and may not vote.

A delegate may, in writing addressed to the president, appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the international labor office by the government of each of the high contracting parties.

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegates or advisers whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with the undertaking contained in this article.

Article 4.

Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the conference.

If one of the high contracting parties fails to nominate one of the non-government delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-government delegate shall be allowed to sit and speak at the conference, but not to vote.

If, in accordance with Article 3, the conference refuses admission to a del-

egate of one of the high contracting parties, the provisions of the present article shall apply as if that delegate had not been nominated.

Article 5.

The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present.

Article 6.

The International Labor Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League.

Article 7.

The International Labor Office shall be under the control of a governing body, consisting of 24 members, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the protocol hereto.

The governing body shall from time to time elect one of its members to act as its chairman, shall regulate its own proceedings, and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members.

Article 8.

There shall be a director of the International Labor Office, appointed by the governing body, who shall be subject to the instructions of the governing body, be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labor Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him. The director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

Article 9.

The staff of the International Labor Office shall be appointed by the director, who shall, so far as possible, with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these should be women.

Article 10.

The functions of the International Labor Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this convention in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish a periodical paper in the French and English languages, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other functions, powers, and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

Article 11.

The government departments of any of the high contracting parties which deal with questions of industry and

employment may communicate directly with the director through the representative of their State on the governing body of the International Labor Office, or failing any such representative, through such other qualified official as the government may nominate for the purpose.

Article 12.

The International Labor Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the secretary general of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

Article 13.

Each of the high contracting parties will pay the traveling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisors, and of its representatives attending the meetings of the conference or governing body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labor Office and of the meetings of the conference or governing body shall be paid to the director by the secretary general of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the league.

The director shall be responsible to the secretary general of the league for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this article.

Chapter 2—Procedure

Article 14.

The agenda for all meetings of the conference will be settled by the governing body, who shall consider any suggestions as to the agenda that may be made by the government of any of the high contracting parties or by any representative organization recognized for the purpose of Article 3.

Article 15.

The director shall act as the secretary of the conference, and shall circulate the agenda to reach the high contracting parties, and through them the non-government delegates when appointed, four months before the meeting of the conference.

Article 16.

Any of the governments of the high contracting parties may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the director, who shall circulate it to all the high contracting parties. Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda if at the conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present is in favor of considering them.

If the conference decides—otherwise than under the preceding paragraph—by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

Article 17.

The conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own president, and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Convention, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates present.

A vote shall be void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of delegates attending the conference.

Article 18.

The conference may add to any

committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

Article 19.

When the conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the conference to determine whether these proposals should take the form:

(a) Of a recommendation to be submitted to the high contracting parties for consideration with a view to its being given effect by national legislation or otherwise. Or,

(b) Of a draft international convention for ratification by the high contracting parties.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the conference.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the president of the conference and of the director, and shall be deposited with the secretary-general of the League of Nations. The secretary-general will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the high contracting parties.

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the end of the meeting of the conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of recommendation, the high contracting parties will inform the secretary general of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention the high contracting party will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the secretary general, and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other action to make such recommendation effective is taken, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the high contracting party.

In the case of a Federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of the Government of such State to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

Article 20.

Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the secretary general of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the States which ratify it, subject to any conditions which may be contained in the convention itself.

Article 21.

If any convention laid before the Conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the high contracting parties to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the governments of the States concerned to the secretary general of the League of Nations, who shall register it.

Article 22.

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to make an annual report to the International Labor Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the governing body may request. The director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the conference.

Article 23.

In the event of any representation being made to the International Labor Office by an industrial association of employers or of workpeople that any of the high contracting parties has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the governing body may communicate this representation to the State against which it is made and may invite that State to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit.

Article 24.

If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the State against which the representation is made, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the governing body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it.

Article 25.

Any of the high contracting parties shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labor Office if it is not satisfied that any other of the high contracting parties is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing articles.

The governing body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such a complaint to a commissioner of inquiry, as herein-after provided for, communicate with the State against which the complaint is made in the manner described in Article 23.

If the governing body do not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the State against which it is made, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within a reasonable time, which the governing body considers to be satisfactory, the governing body may apply for the appointment of a commission of inquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

The governing body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a delegate to the conference.

When any matter arising out of Articles 24 or 25 is being considered by the governing body, the State against which the representation or complaint is made shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the governing body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the State against which the representation or complaint is made.

Article 26.

The commission of inquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions:

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to nominate, within six months of the date on which this convention comes into force, three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of workpeople, and one a person of independent standing,

who shall together form a panel from which the members of the commission of inquiry shall be drawn.

The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the governing body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the members present refuse to accept the nominations of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present article.

Upon the application of the governing body, the secretary general of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the commission of inquiry, and shall designate one of them as the president of the commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any State directly concerned in the complaint.

Article 27.

The high contracting parties agree that, in the event of the reference of a complaint to a Commission of Inquiry under Article 25, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the disposal of the commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint.

Article 28.

When the Commission of Inquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken.

It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers to be appropriate, and which it considers other States would be justified in adopting.

Article 29.

The secretary general of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Inquiry to each of the States concerned in the complaint and shall cause it to be published.

Each of these States shall within one month inform the secretary general of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the commission, and if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations.

Article 30.

In the event of any of the high contracting parties failing to take within the specified period the action required by Article 19, any other of the high contracting parties shall be entitled to refer the matter to the permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 31.

The decision of the permanent Court of International Justice to which a complaint has been referred shall be final.

Article 32.

The permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers to be appropriate, and which other States would be justified in adopting.

Article 33.

In the event of any State failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Commission of Inquiry, or in the decision of the permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other State may take against that State the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the commission or in the decision of the court as appropriate to the case.

Article 34.

The defaulting State may at any time inform the governing body that it has taken the steps necessary to comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry or in the decision of the permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the secretary general of the League to constitute a Commission of Inquiry to verify its contention. In that case the provisions of Articles 26, 27, 29, 29 31 and 32 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Inquiry or decision of the permanent Court of International Justice is in favor of the defaulting State, the other States shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting State.

Chapter 3-General

Article 35.

The British dominions and India shall have the same rights and obligations under this convention as if they were separate high contracting parties.

The same shall apply to any colony or possession of any of the high contracting parties which on the application of such high contracting party is recognized as fully self-governing by the Executive Council of the League of Nations:

The high contracting parties engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of the present convention to their colonies, protectorates and possessions, which are not fully self-governing:

1. Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or,

2. Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the high contracting parties shall notify the International Labor Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

Article 36.

Any State not a party to this convention which may hereafter become a member of the League of Nations shall be deemed ipso facto to have adhered to this convention.

Article 37.

Amendments to this convention which are adopted by the conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates of the League.

Article 38.

Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this convention or of any subsequent convention concluded by the high contracting parties in pursuance of the provisions of this convention shall be referred for decision

to the permanent Court of International Justice.

Chapter 4-Transitory Procedure

Article 39.

The first meeting of the conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the schedule annexed hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organization of the first meeting of the conference will be made by the government designated for the purpose in the said schedule. That government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the conference by an international committee constituted as provided in the said schedule.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the high contracting parties in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article 40.

Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing articles should be addressed to the secretary general of the League will be preserved by the director of the International Labor Office, who will transmit them to the secretary general of the League when appointed.

Article 41.

Pending the creation of a permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which, in accordance with this convention, would be submitted to it for decision, will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Executive Council of the League of Nations.

PROTOCOL TO ARTICLE 7.

The governing body of the International Labor Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve representatives of the governments.

Six members elected by the delegates to the conference representing the work people.

Of the twelve members representing the governments, eight shall be nominated by the high contracting parties which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the high contracting parties selected for the purpose by the government delegates to the conference, including the delegates of the eight States mentioned above. No high contracting party, together with its dominions and colonies, whether self-governing or not, shall be entitled to nominate more than one member.

Any question as to which are the high contracting parties of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Executive Council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of members of the governing body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the governing body subject to the approval of the conference.

PROTOCOL TO ARTICLE 19.

In no case shall any of the high contracting parties be asked to accept any recommendation or draft convention by the conference, to diminish the protection afforded by the existing legislation to the workers concerned.

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Condensed Statement at Close of Business May 2, 1919

RESOURCES

Loans and Discounts	\$1,654,097.56
Overdrafts	
United States Bonds	1,398,991.00
State, City and Other Bonds	793,510.00
Federal Reserve Bank Stock	9,000.00
Banking House F. and F.	195,949.77
Other Real Estate Owned	40,873.07
Leasehold	18,203.77
Cash and Due From Banks	769,174.87
Interest Earned, Not Collected	16,295.64
	<hr/>
	\$4,896,095.68

LIABILITIES

Capital	\$200,000.00
Surplus and Profits	207,413.94
Discounts Collected, Not Earned	10,665.56
Circulation	50,000.00
Deposits	4,428,016.18
	<hr/>
	\$4,896,095.68

GEORGE W. SPENCE, President

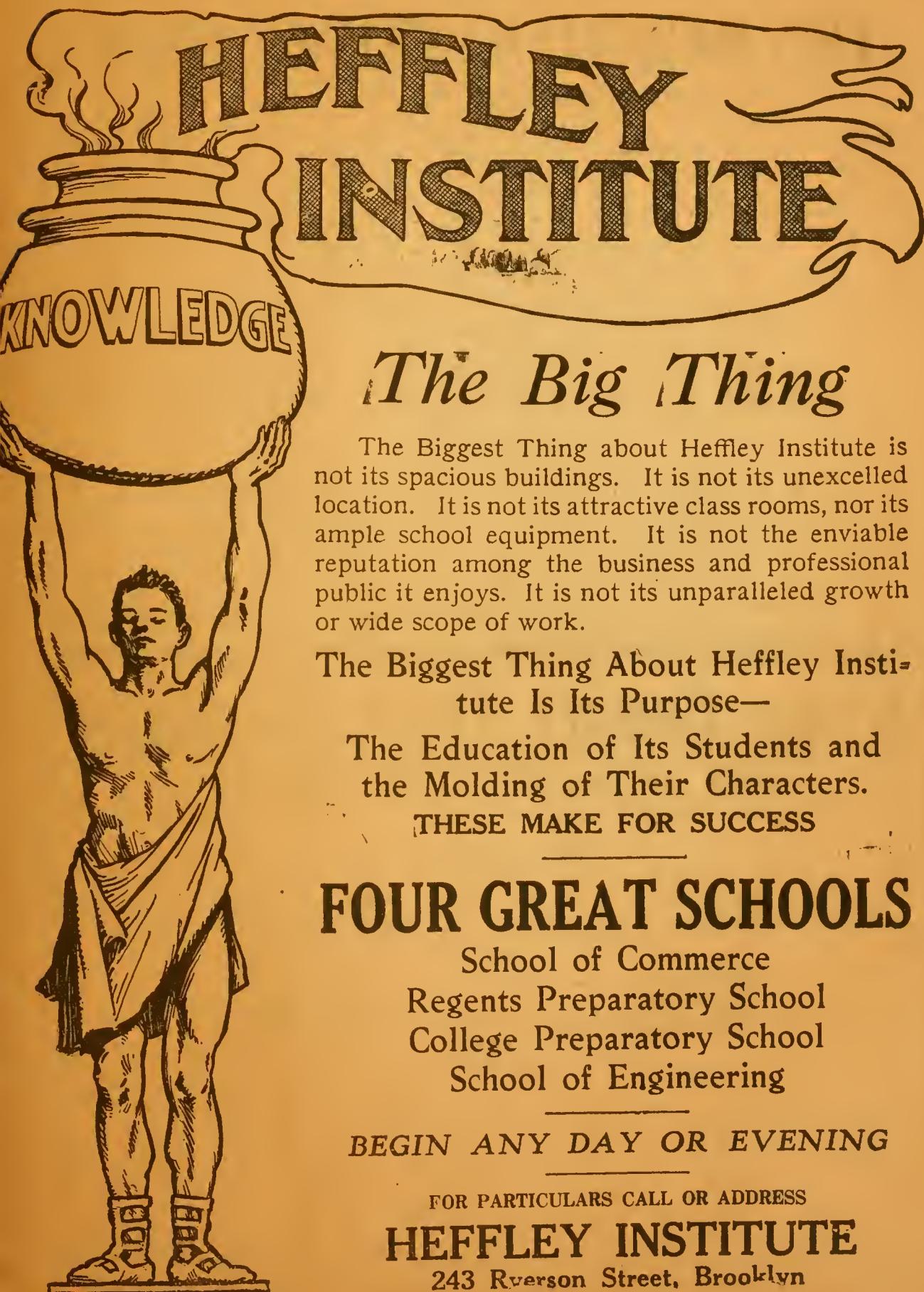
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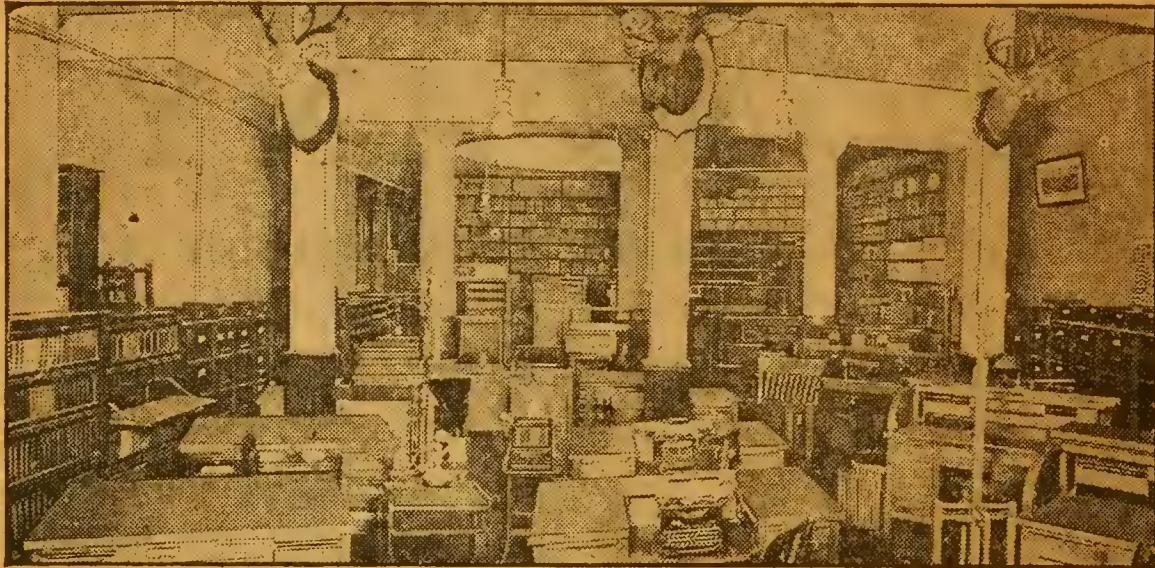
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Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 12 M.

Chartered April 14, 1866

BROOKLYN TRUST COMPANY**Capital Stock, \$1,500,000****Surplus, \$2,227,577**

Member of the Federal Reserve System

Member of the New York Clearing House Association

177 MONTAGUE STREET, BROOKLYN**Bedford Branch**

Fulton Street and Bedford Avenue

Manhattan Office

Wall Street and Broadway

Trustees

Frank L. Babbott
 Walter St. J. Benedict
 George M. Boardman
 Samuel W. Boocock
 Edgar M. Cullen
 William N. Dykman
 John H. Emanuel Jr.

Francis L. Hine
 David H. Lanman
 David G. Legget
 Frank Lyman
 Howard W. Maxwell
 Edwin P. Maynard
 Frank C. Munson
 Henry F. Noyes

Robert L. Pierrepont
 Harold I. Pratt
 Clinton L. Rossiter
 Frank D. Tuttle
 J. H. Walbridge
 Alexander M. White
 Willis D. Wood

Advisory Committee—Bedford Branch

Eugene F. Barnes Edward Lyons Edward Thompson William McCarroll
 H. A. Moody, Edmund N. Schmidt, Assistant Secretary

Officers

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 David H. Lanman
 Vice-President
 Frank J. W. Diller
 Vice-President
 Willis McDonald Jr.
 Vice-President

Frederick T. Aldridge
 Vice-President
 Willard P. Schenck
 Secretary
 Horace W. Farrell
 Assistant Secretary
 Herbert U. Silleck
 Assistant Secretary

Austin W. Penchoen
 Assistant Secretary
 Gilbert H. Thirkield
 Assistant Secretary
 Frederick B. Lindsay
 Assistant Secretary
 Frederick R. Cortis
 Auditor

Chartered 1872

BROOKLYN CITY SAFE DEPOSIT CO.

177 Montague Street, Brooklyn

Safes, \$5.00 to \$100.00 per year. Valuables stored at moderate rates.
 Trunks and Packages called for in any part of the city free of charge.

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GEORGE W. CHAUNCEY, Vice President

FRANK O. EDGERTON, Secretary

SILVER AND STORAGE VAULTS

MECHANICS BANK

Court and Montague Streets
BROOKLYN

Capital and Surplus - \$ 2,500,000.00
Total Resources Over - \$30,000,000.00

Established 1852

Associate Member of
New York Clearing House



BRANCH BANKS

Bay Ridge Branch—Third Ave. and Fifty-first St.

Broadway Branch—Broadway, near Gates Ave.

Fifth Avenue Branch—Fifth Ave. and Ninth St.

Fulton Branch—356-358 Fulton St.

Nassau Branch—Bedford Ave. and Broadway.

Schermerhorn Branch—Third Ave. and Schermerhorn St.

Twenty-sixth Ward Branch—Atlantic and Georgia Aves.

THE WILLIAMSBURGH SAVINGS BANK

OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Corner Broadway and Driggs Avenue

Incorporated 1851

OPEN DAILY

From 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., Except Saturdays, When the Bank Closes at 12 M.
Open Mondays From 4 to 7 P.M.

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SAMUEL M. MEEKER, JOHN V. JEWELL, Vice Presidents

EDWARD T. HORWILL, Secretary

VICTOR A. LERSNER, Comptroller

CHAS. J. PASFIELD, Cashier

HENRY R. KINSEY, Assistant Comptroller

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Samuel M. Meeker
John V. Jewell
James H. Post

James F. Bendersnagel
Edward T. Horwill
Alfred Romer
Welding Ring

Herbert F. Gunnison
Francis W. Young
Paul E. Bonner
Edward E. Pearce

Albert S. Richey
Ralph H. Tiebout
Winthrop M. Tuttle
Frederick D. MacKay

COUNSEL—S. M. & D. E. Meeker.

Constructive Banking Service

It is the constant aim of the Franklin Trust Company to extend practical service to its customers. We co-operate with them in building up their business along sound, progressive lines because in so doing we are helping our customers, our community and ourselves.

We should be glad of the opportunity to serve you in a constructive manner.

Franklin Trust Company

Established 1888

Brooklyn Offices:

166 Montague St.

569 Fulton St. 1001 Wallabout Market

New York Offices:

46 Wall St.

Madison Ave. and 40th St.

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INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK

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EUGENE H. WINSLOW, President

ROBERT A. DRYSDALE, Vice Pres.

S. WILLIAM BURTON, Secy.

BROOKLYN BRANCH, PLATE GLASS DEPT.

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PENDLETON & PENDLETON

Western District Managers.

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THE SOUTH BROOKLYN SAVINGS INSTITUTION

160 Atlantic Avenue, Corner of Clinton Street

INCORPORATED APRIL 11, 1850.

Due Depositors (Jan. 1, 1919) = \$26,717,920.59 | Surplus, Market Value = \$3,189,941.64

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WALTER M. AIKMAN.....First Vice President
ALBRO J. NEWTON.....Second Vice President
JOHN J. PIERREPONT.....Third Vice President

CLARENCE S. DUNNING.....Treasurer
JACOB STEINER.....Comptroller
BERNARD A. BURGER.....Secretary
HIRAM R. STEELE.....Counsel

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Bernard A. Burger
Isaac H. Cary
William H. Cary

William J. Coombs
Charles B. Denny
Clarence S. Dunning
Joseph W. Greene Jr.
J. Morton Halstead
David H. Lanman
Josiah O. Low

Percy S. Mallett
D. Irving Mead
Edgar McDonald
Albro J. Newton
William L. Newton
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Arnold W. Sherman
G. Foster Smith
Hiram R. Steele
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Successors to J. M. Hopper

Funeral Directors

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120 and 122 Livingston Street

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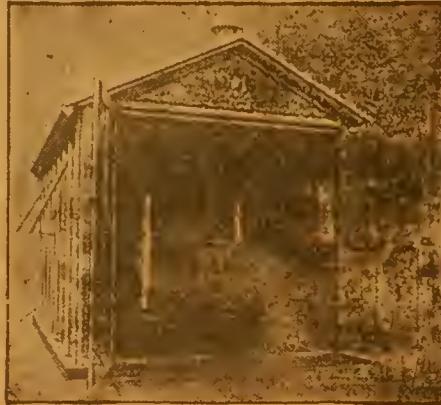
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Phones: Bedford 29, Bedford 30



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you burn last winter?
Why not save 33 1-3
per cent. by applying
an Aeolipyle on your
heating apparatus?
Send for descriptive
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THE STATE BANK

Member of the New York Clearing House

376 GRAND STREET, NEW YORK

BRANCHES

Pitkin and Stone Aves., Brooklyn
 Graham Ave. and Varet St., Brooklyn
 7 West 26th Street

115th Street and 5th Avenue
 100 Essex Street
 Union and Westchester Aves., Bronx

More than 100,000 deposit accounts

The State Bank, with its six branches, has over \$20,000,000 of free money to lend to mercantile customers, and would appreciate the visit of good, live merchants who can use these extraordinary facilities to advantage.

The benefit of being connected with a progressive, successful and up-to-date institution, managed by young men, is demonstrated by the fact that 18,263 new accounts were opened during the first four months of this year.

The continued growth of our net deposits is significant:

January 1st, 1899	=	\$2,130,000
" " 1904	=	8,427,000
" " 1909	=	13,952,000
" " 1914	=	25,277,000
January 1st, 1919	=	36,718,000
May 1st, 1919	=	46,977,000

Credits are promptly passed upon at all branches. If you are interested, call upon us, or advise us and we will call on you.

H. C. RICHARD, *President*

American Trust Company

(Main Office 135 BROADWAY, Manhattan)

Has Opened an Office for the Transaction of a General Trust and Banking Business at

203 MONTAGUE STREET, Brooklyn

The new office is especially for the convenience of Brooklyn people, and accounts are invited from individuals, firms, corporations, estates and those acting in any trust capacity.

The clients of the American Trust Company will have the advantage of affiliation and co-operation with the various departments of the New York Title & Mortgage Company.

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 HARRY H. FIELDER, Vice President
 GERHARD KUEHNE, Secretary
 JOSEPH L. OBERMAYER, Treasurer
 HUBERT F. BREITWIESER, Assistant Treasurer
 MORGAN J. O'BRIEN, General Counsel

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 Attorney.
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 Dominick & Dominick.
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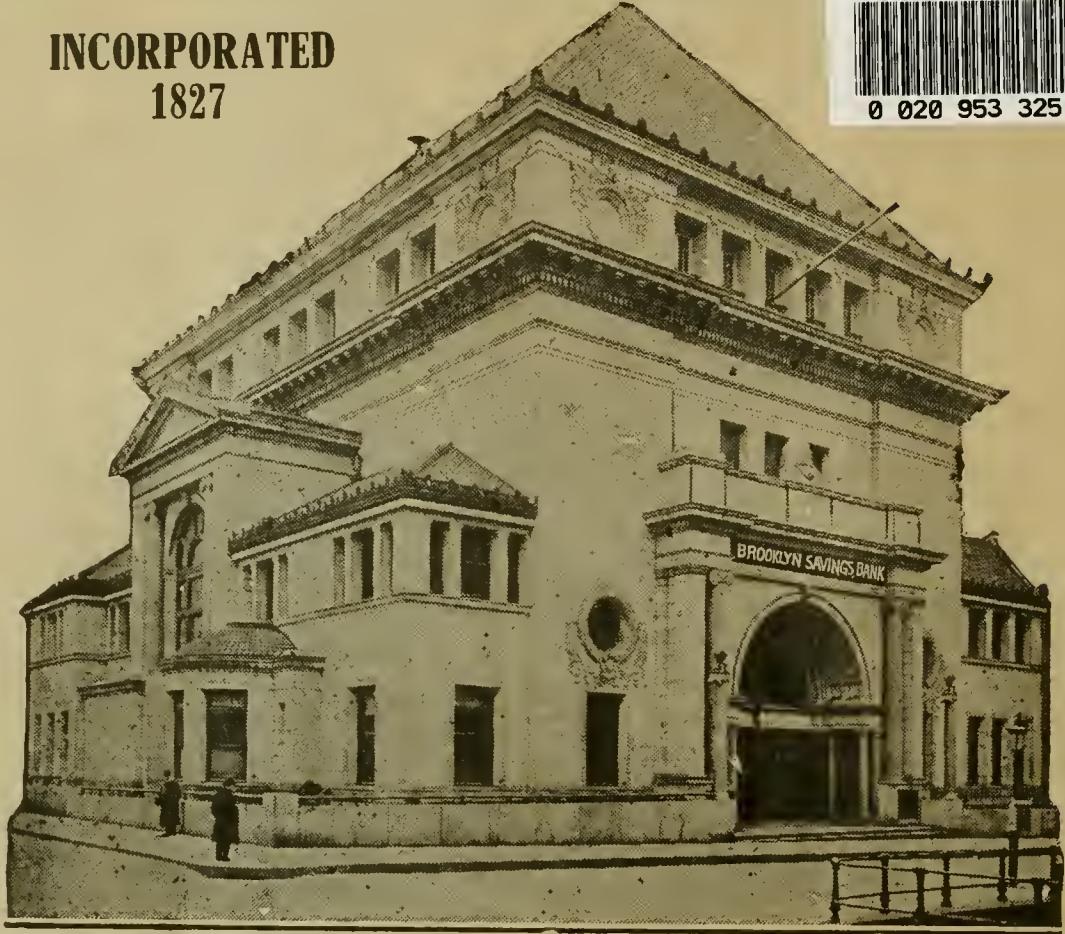
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INCORPORATED
1827



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CORNER PIERREPONT AND CLINTON STREETS

and 300 Fulton Street BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Due Depositors - - - - - \$59,900,000

Surplus (Par Value) - - - - - \$7,600,000

OFFICERS:

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DANIEL J. CREEM - - -	Vice-Pres.	ARTHUR C. HARE - - -	Cashier
RICHARD L. EDWARDS - -	Vice-Pres.	CHARLES C. PUTNAM -	Ass't Compr

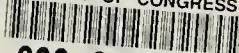
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